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ABSTRACT

Five papers address issues in language learning and teaching in multicultural environments. "Namibian Educational Language Planning: English for Liberation or Neo-Colonialism?" (Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Hugh Africa) examines decisive factors in choice of language for instruction, focusing on the choice of English and the role of native languages. In "Cultilinguistic Imperialism -- What Can Scandinavia Learn from the Second and Third Worlds?" (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson), it is proposed that Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden should draw more on the multilingual experience in less developed countries to clarify the different purposes served by each language in a multilingual community and identify which languages need support. "Can Increased Metacommunicative Awareness Solve Intercultural Communication Difficulties?" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas) invites scholars with experience in working with metacommunicative awareness to participate in a project begun in 1985. "How to Analyse Communicative Competence in the Integration Process" (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson) proposes that for acculturation and social integration to occur for immigrants, the power relationship among groups must be changed, intercultural gaps narrowed, and solidarity established between minority and dominant majority. "Who Wants To Change What and Why?--Conflicting Paradigms in Minority Education Research" (Skutnabb-Kangas) attempts to clarify reasons for conflicting recommendations for education of minority children. (MSE)

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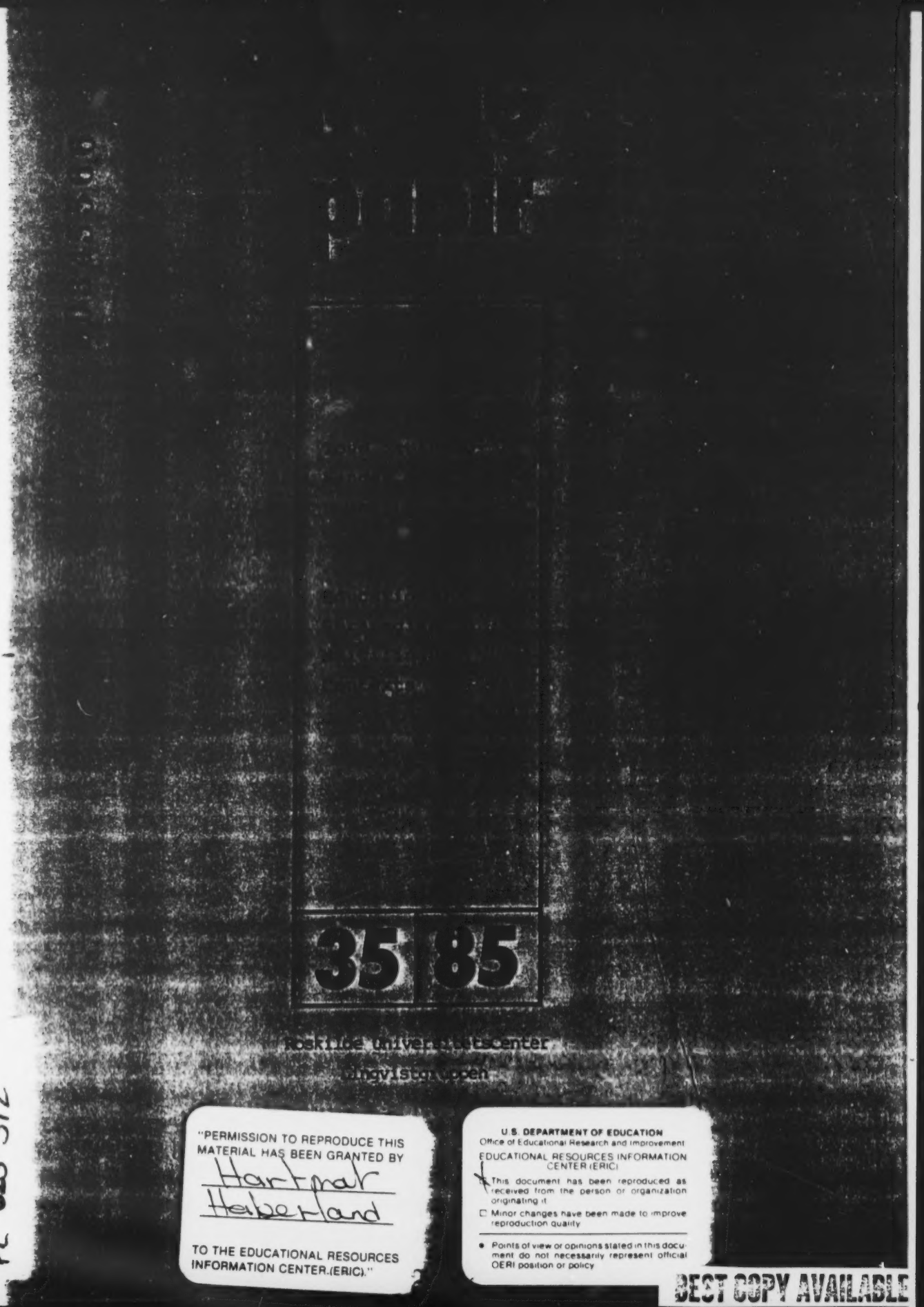

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Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson

Educational Strategies in Multilingual Contexts

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Januar 1985

page:

Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Hugh Africa:
Namibian educational language planning: English for liberation or neo-colonialism? 4

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson:
Cultilinguistic imperialism - what can Scandinavia learn from the Second and Third Worlds? 27

Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas:
Can increased metacommunicative awareness solve intercultural communication difficulties? 56

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson:
How to analyse communicative competence in the integration process..... 65

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas:
Who wants to change what and why - conflicting paradigms in minority education research..... 79

Introductory comments

These papers were presented at conferences in 1984. In their present form they are revisions for later publication.

Namibian educational language planning: English for liberation or neo-colonialism? was originally given as a paper at the World Congress of the International Applied Linguistics Association (AILA) at Brussels, August 3-9. Dr Hugh Africa was then attached to the English Department, University of Zambia at Lusaka. He has lived in exile from his native South Africa for many years and is now Head of the English Department, United Nations Institute for Namibia, Lusaka, Zambia. The paper is an example of academic research in the area of development studies being closely linked to practical solidarity work and educational "aid".

Who wants to change what and why - conflicting paradigms in minority education research was a contribution to a symposium on Language and Education in Multilingual Settings at the AILA Congress. It attempts to clarify some of the reasons for conflicting recommendations for the education of minority children, and relates the fierce academic and political disputes to opposing scientific and philosophical paradigms.

These two papers are to appear in **Language and Education in Multilingual Settings,** edited by Bernard Spolsky, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1985.

Cultilinguistic imperialism - what can Scandinavia learn from the Second and Third Worlds? was a lecture delivered at the Fourth Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism, held at the University of Uppsala, 5-7 June. The basic premise of the paper is that Scandinavians do have something to learn from the Second and Third Worlds. The paper is being published in the proceedings of the symposium, edited by Jan Anward et al, **Tvåspråkighet,** Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis, Studia

Multietnica, 1985. It has also been submitted for publication in the **International Education Journal.**

Can increased metacommunicative awareness solve intercultural communication difficulties? was presented as a discussion paper at the Third International Contact + Conflict Symposium held at the Research Centre on Multilingualism, Brussels, August 10-11. It explicitly invites scholars with experience of working with the metacommunicative awareness or the communication strategies of learners to make contact with us, as a new project on this as one aspect of the education of Finns in Sweden starts in April 1985. The paper is to be published in the proceedings of the symposium, edited by Peter Nelde, **Contact + Conflict III,** Plurilingua V.

How to analyse communicative competence in the integration process was a short paper given at a one-day symposium on "Integration - theory and practice" held at the University of Copenhagen. It draws heavily on our joint paper in ROLIG-papir 28. The papers from this symposium are being published in Temarapport 2 "Integration - teori og praksis" edited by Mogens Trolle Larsen and Jonathan Schwarz, Center for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, University of Copenhagen.

Finally, there is at the base of the front page of all ROLIG-papir an invitation to comment on the publication. It is seriously meant. Please do.

NAMIBIAN EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE PLANNING: ENGLISH FOR LIBERATION OR NEO-COLONIALISM?

Robert **Phillipson**, Tove **Skutnabb-Kangas** and Hugh **Africa**

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the ongoing work of educational language planning for Namibia. We shall draw on experience from a wide range of countries and groups so as to highlight those factors which can be decisive for success or failure in education in multilingual contexts. One key factor is choice of languages for educational purposes. As SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) has opted for English as an official language for independent Namibia, it is important to decide what role English should play in education and what the role of the mother tongues should be. Will English secure liberation or will it serve as bridgehead for neocolonialism?

English and French are often calles **languages of wider communication** (LWC) (Fishman 1977). The languages are closely related to the countries and cultures from which they originated, which we shall refer to as **cultures of wider communication** (CWC). The spread of these languages in recent centuries and their indigenization in different parts of the world are central aspects of colonialism, imperialism and present-day internationalism. While large CWC countries like the United States, Britain and France are or pretend to be monolingual countries in which the education system aims at monolingualism in the LWC, most African countries are multilingual. Even so, most African educational language planning aims at monolingualism in an LWC (Bokamba & Tlou 1980).

It is our contention that it serves the interests of LWC speakers and the CWCs to promote the use of LWCs in Africa. Most LWC researchers and educational experts are consciously or unconsciously biassed in favour of the LWC and monolingualism, and even when well-intentioned, their advice re-

flects this. We also contend that educational language planning in Africa must aim at bi- or multilingualism, as advocated by African researchers like Afolayan (1984), Africa (1980), Bokamba & Tlou (1980), Mateene (1980a, 1980b) and Tadadjeu (1980). We therefore regard it as axiomatic that **over-use of the former colonial language and under-use of mother tongues** as media of education (ME) reproduce inequality, favour the creation or perpetuation of elites, promote dependency on the CWC, and prevent the attainment of high levels of bi- or multilingualism (Chishimba 1984, Mateene 1980b).

Language policy decisions are often taken in very unfavourable circumstances, when nations are "developing" away from a phase of underdevelopment, economically and politically (Rodney 1972). **Namibia**, the "last colony" (Green et al 1982) is still illegally occupied by South Africa, and exploited by multinational capital, despite numerous attempts by the United Nations to end this state of affairs (SWAPO 1981). Language planning for Namibia is therefore under way outside the country, concurrently with a liberation war (Chamberlain et al 1981). As the armed struggle has been in progress for nearly 20 years, there has been time for elaborate formulation of the political, social, economic and educational goals of SWAPO, which is recognized as the only legal representative of the Namibian people by the United Nations. SWAPO plans to establish a "non-exploitative, non-oppressive, classless society" (SWAPO 1983). Policy and plans for a liberated Namibia are articulated in a number of publications from the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, an independent research and teaching centre.

SWAPO har decided that **English** is to be **an official** language in independent Namibia, and that the **mother tongues** will be ME at the lower primary level and not neglected thereafter (SWAPO 1982, 40 Commonwealth Secretariat and SWAPO 1984). The intention is to replace Afrikaans, currently the lingua franca in Namibia and the ME from upper primary level and

sometimes earlier, which is seen as the language of oppression, by English, which is seen paradoxically as a language of liberation. At present less than 1% of the population of 1½ million have English as their mother tongue, while 15% have Afrikaans, and only a small proportion are fluent in English as a second or foreign language. There are 7 main local language groups. The largest, Oshiwambo, accounts for roughly 45% of Namibians (Chamberlain et al 1981). Several of the languages were alphabetized a century ago (e.g. Kurvin en 1877). South African Bantu education policy has been to deliberately promote ethnolinguistic fragmentation as one instrument for enforcing apartheid. Language is one means of effectuating segregated and racist policies. The vast majority of Namibians drop out of the education system and 60% of the population is illiterate (for details see Ellis 1984 and Mbamba 1982). There are 70,000 or more Namibians in exile in refugee settlements in Angola and Zambia, adults and children. Their education forms part of SWAPO's attempts to try out strategies for educational change, to be implemented in independent Namibia. These attempts are informed by careful consideration of the experience of other countries.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

Turning to this experience, we have chosen examples so as to be able to analyse some of the factors which seem to be desisive for the success or failure of an educational policy which could result in high levels of bilingualism. Many of our examples do **not** come from contexts which resemble the Namibian situation, for two reasons, one empirical, one methodological. The empirical reason is that although there are many parallels in other African countries and elsewhere, there has been too little longitudinal research into and evaluations of different educational models. The methodological reason is that it is easier to distinguish some of the principles which are generally valid by comparing dissimilar situations.

TABLE 1

	Programmes						
	Segregation		Maintenance		Submersion		Immersion
Degree of success	LOW		HIGH		LOW		HIGH
Dominant medium of education (ME)	L 1				L 2		
	Africa	Europe	Asia	Europe/USA	Africa	Europe	North America
	Namibia Bantu education	Bavaria FGR Turkish migrants	Uzbekistan 7 main gps	Sweden,USA Finns,Chicanas	Zambia all main groups	most WE indig & immig.min.	Canada anglophones
Linguistic goal	dominance L1	dominance L1	bilingualism	bilingualism	elites:L2 dom,masses:L1 dom	dominance L2	bilingualism
Societal goal	apartheid	repatriation	equity & integration		perpetuation stratification	assimilation,marginalisation	ling. & cult. enrichment,job prospects
Majority/minority	majority	minority	majority	minority	majority	minority	majority
status of group (high/low)	low	low	high	low	high	low	high
Country industrialized/underdeveloped (ind/und)	und	ind	ind	ind	und	ind	ind
Group has been (C) or is (C+) colonized by L2 country	C+	-	C	C	C	C/-	-
Language of group - official	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
- standardized & has teaching materials	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
L2 official	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
L2 standardized & teaching materials	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

We will analyse different types of education under four headings: **segregation, mother tongue maintenance, submersion** and **immersion.** In 3 instances it is necessary to treat separately the programmes meant for majorities and minorities. The English-speaking group in Canada are in the majority, numerically and in terms of power (see Table 1). We also classify the Blacks in South Africa and occupied Namibia as a majority, even though they are at present still a powerless majority. In Soviet Uzbekistan the numerically dominant group in the republic, the Uzbeks (more than 2/3 of the population in Uzbekistan, Krag 1983), and the 6 principal minority groups all have equivalent linguistic rights in education. They are together treated as a majority in our classification. These groups have the right to education through the medium of their mother tongues. They are not obliged to undergo schooling in the LWC, Russian. The Uzbekistan comparison is particularly relevant for the Third World because here literacy has over the past 60 years been successfully extended from a tiny elite minority to cover the entire population. All children complete 10 years of schooling, and this is soon to be extended to 11 years (Guidelines 1984).

Namibia is, like the majority of Third World countries and like Soviet Uzbekistan, multilingual. At present elementary schooling is provided in 12 languages (Zimmermann 1984). Whether education can be provided in the future in a larger number of mother tongues, those with few speakers, or whether this is impracticable, is a complex issue which cannot be adequately pursued here.

For each programme we assess the **degree of success,** in attaining high levels of bilingualism and school achievement, and crudely label the programmes as leading to **high** or **low** levels of success. Next we identify whether the **medium of education** (ME) is the mother tongue (MT,L1) of the pupils or a foreign or second language (L2). Finally linguistic and societal goals of the programmes are broadly characterized

(for details see Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, chapter 6). Our classification builds more on results than on declarations of intention and may not therefore tally with the officially declared goals.

Our example of a **segregation** model for a **majority** population is the Bantu education now given at the elementary level to Namibians through the medium of Lls, producing poor results, meaning scholastic failure for the majority, and low levels of cognitive/academic proficience in both languages (Mbamba 1982). This fits with the linguistic goal, dominance in L1, and the societal goal, perpetuation of apartheid.

Our example of **segregation** for a **minority** is the education of migrant Turks in Bavaria, West Germany, through the medium of Turkish, again with low levels of success. The linguistic goal is dominance in Turkish. The societal goal is to prepare the migrant pupils for forced repatriation when their parents' labour is no longer needed or when they themselves become "too expensive" for West Germany (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

In contrast to segregation programmes, **mother tongue maintenance** programmes show high levels of success. The ME is L1, as in segregation programmes, but the goals are different. The linguistic goal is bilingualism, the societal goal is equity and integration. An example of **maintenance** for a **majority** is the MT medium education given in the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan to the seven main language groups. Examples of **maintenance for minorites** are the Finnish medium classes for the Finnish migrant population in Sweden and such Spanish medium programmes in the U.S. as the San Diego and Carpinteria programmes (Cummins 1984). All these result in high levels of bilingualism and school achievement. All three groups in the examples used have a history of colonization by the L2-power, i.e. the Uzbeks, the Tadjiks etc. by Russia, the Finns by Sweden, and the Chicanas by the U.S.A. This common history of colonization makes these

cases more directly comparable to contemporary Africa.

The segregation and maintenance programmes referred to have had the mother tongue as medium of education. In the remaining two types of programme, submersion and immersion, the medium of education is a second or foreign language (L2).

An example of a **submersion** programme for a **majority** is education through the medium of a former colonial language in many African countries, eg Zambia. For the vast majority of the population, results are poor, linguistically (Africa 1980) and academically (Chishimba 1984). The official goal is to provide educational "opportunities to each person within the limits of his (sic!) capacity" (Ministry of Education 1977, 5). The linguistic goal achieved is dominance in the LWC, English, for the elites, and dominance for the masses in their mother tongues (or the regional lingua franca), which the school does nothing to develop, and limited proficiency in English. The society is highly stratified, and education since independence has not altered this (Chileshe 1982). This state of affairs is by no means unique to Zambia - in fact it generally holds throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Mateene 1980b).

Submersion programmes for **minorities** are still by far the most common way of education both indigenous and immigrant (linguistic) minorities. For instance in western Europe this means education through the medium of L2, the majority language, resulting in dominance in the majority language at the expense of the mother tongue, and poor school achievement. Societally this means assimilation for some and marginalisation for the many (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

By contrast, Canadian **immersion** programmes, in which **majority** children are educated through the medium of an L2, lead to high levels of bilingualism and success at school. The societal goals include linguistic and cultural enrichment

and increased employment prospects for an elite (California State Department of Education 1984, Swain & Lapkin 1982).

We move now from the defining characteristics of these four types of programme to a set of descriptors which may have a decisive influence on the outcome of education.

Of the groups in our seven examples those in Uzbekistan, Zambia and Canada have in principle **high status** whereas the others are **low status** groups. The countries in five of the examples are **industrialized,** while Namibia and Zambia have been **underdeveloped.** In only two of the examples is there absence of a past or present **colonial relationship** between the L1 and L2 groups.

The last four descriptors relate to the **official status** of the languages and the degree to which they have been **standardized** and have **teaching and reference materials.**

All the languages of the groups concerned have some official status, with the exception of the immigrant languages (and most indigenous minority languages) in Europe and North America. With the one exception of Zambia the full range of the languages is standardized and at least some teaching materials exist. In the case of immigrant languages, some of the materials may come from the countries of origin. The potential for extending the written use of Zambian languages is as yet untapped (for academic arguments in favour of this see Kashoki 1982 and Chishimba 1984, for political arguments against it see The Prime Minister of Zambia in Commonwealth Secretariat and SWAPO 1984). In all our examples the L2 both has official status and exists in standardized forms with teaching materials.

Provisionally generalizing on the basis of the evidence from the descriptors so far we conclude that high levels of success in relation to bilingualism and school achievement can be achieved **either with L1 or L2 as the dominant medium**

of education, either by a majority or a minority group, by groups with **either high or low status,** in contexts where the language **either has official status or does not.**

In all successful contexts the **lingustic goal** has been **bilingualism** and the **societal goal** has been a **positive** one **for the group** concerned. The **MTs** of the groups have been **standardized** and **teaching materials** have been **available,** which has also been the case for L2.

We also conclude that in all contexts with low levels of success the linguistic goal has been dominance in one of the languages, either the MT or the L2, not bilingualism. The other language has been neglected or taught badly, even though in many cases it has official status, and is standardized, with teaching materials. The societal goal in all the contexts with poor results has been to keep the group or at least a bulk of them in a powerless subordinate position.

PREREQUISITES FOR EFFICIENT L2-LEARNING AND BILINGUALISM

Now it is arguable that since the only constants so far distinguishing programmes leading to a high or low degree of success have been the linguistic and societal goals, and nothing more tangible, and since our classification of goals, expecially if it does **not** tally with the officially declared goals, might be considered arbitrary, then there might be the suspicion that we first looked at the outcomes and then attributed negative goals to the programmes with poor results and positive goals to the programmes with good results, so as to make the classification neat. In order to examine this interpretation we turn now to how the programmes are organized. We will go through a set of 16 prerequisites for efficient L2-learning (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984,244), in order to see to what extent the different programmes are organized so as to create optimal conditions. Since the de facto linguistic and societal goals of a programme are reflected more in the way the programme is organized than in declarations of intention, our analysis can also serve to

validate our characterization of the goals of the different programmes. Table 2 lists these factors and contains a positive or negative rating for each of the seven types of programme. The programmes are distinguished, as before, according to whether they lead to a high degree of success (HDS) or a low degree of success (LDS).

The factors have been grouped into four categories, organizational, learner-related affective factors, and linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social factors related to respectively the L1 and the L2. To start with the **organizational factors: alternative programmes** (1) are only available in the maintenance and immersion contexts, ie the HDS programmes are optional. An Uzbek, a Finn in Sweden, or a Chicana in the US who wants education through the medium of Russian, Swedish or English rather than the L1 can opt for this. An English-speaking Canadian child can choose between English-medium education or a French-medium immersion programme. Children in segregation or submersion programmes have no choice.

Factor 2 covers whether there are **in the same class** both **native speakers** of the ME and pupils for whom the ME is an **L2**. This is the normal situation in submersion programmes, disadvantaging the L2 learners. We consider that in Zambia the situation is comparable in that pupils' home background (i.e. class) may have a decisive influence on their proficiency in English. In all the other programmes pupils are, in relation to prior familiarity with the language, on an equal footing in that initially either they **all** know the language of instruction (segregation and maintenance) or none of them do (immersion).

The third factor shows that the HDS programmes have **teachers** who are both **bilingual** and well **trained.** Whereas the LDS programmes have either well trained monolingual teachers, who do not understand pupils' mother tongues, or else the training of teachers is inadequate, even if they are to some

TABLE 2

LDS=low degree of success HDS=high degree of success	Segregation LDS		Maintenance HDS		Submersion LDS		Immersion HDS
	L 1					L 2	
	Bantu	Turks	Uzbekis-tan	Finns Chicanas	Zambia	W.Europe minorities	Canada
Organizational factors							
1 alternative programmes available	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2 pupils equally placed vis-a-vis knowledge of ME	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
3 bilingual (B), trained (T) teachers	B	B or T	BT	BT	B	T	BT
4 bilingual materials (eg dictionaries) available	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
5 cultural content of materials appropriate for pupils	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
Learner-related affective factors							
6 low level of anxiety (supportive, non-authoritarian)	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
7 high internal motivation (not forced to use L2, understands & sympathetic with objectives, responsible for own learning)	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
8 high self-confidence (fair chance to succeed, high teacher expectations)	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
L1-related linguistic, cognitive & social factors							
9 adequate linguistic development in L1 (L1 taught well, badly or not at all in school)	B	B	W	W	-	-	W
10 enough relevant, cognitively demanding subject-matter provided	-?	+?	+	+	-?	-?	+
11 opportunity to develop L1 outside school in linguistically demanding formal contexts	+?	-	+	-	+	-	+
12 L2-teaching supports (+) or harms (-) L1 development	+	+	+	+	-?	-	+
L2-related linguistic, cognitive & social factors							
13 adequate linguistic development in L2 (L2 taught well, badly or not at all in school)	B	B	W	W	B	B	W
14 L2 input adapted to pupils L2 level	+	+	+	+	-?	-	+
15 opportunity to practise L2 in peer group contexts	-	-	+	+?	-	-	-
16 exposure to native speaker L2 use in linguistically demanding formal contexts	-	+	+	+	-	+	+

extent bilingual, for instance in Zambia (Chishimba 1981).

Factor 4 shows that most of the LDS programmes lack **bilingual materials.** The materials actually used (factor 5) in them are imported or racist, thus imposing alien cultural values. It is now recognized (for instance in Zambia, Commonwealth Secretariat & SWAPO 1984) that even teaching materials written in independent African countries perpetuate colonial or western values (Chileshe 1982, Higgs 1978).

The **learner-related affective factors** suggest that a supportive learning environment and non-authoritarian teaching reduce **anxiety** (6). **Internal motivation** (7) is increased when the pupil is not forced to use the L2 (for instance because the teacher does not understand the L1) and can start producing L2 utterances only when ready for it. High motivation is also related to an understanding of and sympathy with the educational objectives and to sharing in responsibility for one's own learning. These are principles endorsed in SWAPOs educational policy (Angula 1984, Commonwealth Secretariat & SWAPO 1984, 20). High **self-conficence** (8) is related to whether learners have a real chance of succeeding in school, and to favourable teacher expectations. One of the conditions for this is that the teacher accepts and values the child's mother tongue. There is a high correlation across the board between a positive rating on these three variables (low anxiety, high motivation and high self-confidence) and successful programmes.

The final sets cover **linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social language-related** factors. **Linguistic development in L1** (9) is inadequate when the MT is taught badly as in segregation programmes or not at all as in most submersion programmes. Official Zambian policy permits the oral use of MTs to facilitate comprehension, but no attempt is made to teach or develop proficiency in the MT.

Enough **relevant cognitively demanding subject matter** (10) to promote the common underlying proficiency for all languages (CALP, see Cummins 1980) is provided in the HDS programmes. This is done in L1 in maintenance programmes and in L2 in immersion programmes. The input may satisfy this criterion in segregation programmes because the pupils at least understand the instruction. In submersion programmes this is less likely when both language and subject matter are unfamiliar.

In addition to L1 development in school, pupils also need the **opportunity to develop their MTs outside school in linguistically demanding formal contexts** (11). This opportunity exists for all indigenous groups, but not for immigrants. Some groups may therefore be able to compensate for inadequate school provision. A more general factor which influences whether the language learning situation is additive or subtractive (Lambert 1975) is the degree to which **L2 teaching supports or harms L1** development (12). Only submersion programmes threaten the MTs in this way.

Linguistic development in L2(13) is inadequate when the L2 is badly taught, as it is in all the LDS programmes. Also relevant is the degree to which **L2 input is adapted to pupils' L2 level** (14). It is difficult to adapt the input in this way in immigrant submersion contexts. The task is relatively more feasible when no pupils are native speakers of the ME, as in Zambia. Absence of **the opportunity to practise the L2 in peer group contexts outside school** (15) may be due to practicalities (immersion children not meeting many L2 children), to sheer racism (Turkish children being avoided by German children), or to a shortage of L2 native speakers, as in Zambia, or in Bantu education, where institutionalized racism aggravates the situation. **Exposure to native speaker L2 use in linguistically demanding formal contexts** (16) depends on the existence of L2 institutions staffed by native L2 spakers. Turks in West Germany cannot escape exposure to native German, whereas Zambians are exposed to a range of non-native Englishes, some of them

appropriate regional models, some of them interlanguages.

THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION

As we can see from the chart, there is a clear difference between the programmes in that the HDS programmes with bilingualism as a linguistic goal and with positive societal goals have organized the teaching so that many of the conditions for efficient L2 learning are met. The LDS programmes do so to a much lesser extent. We shall now relate the different programme characteristics to **the Namibian situation** after independence in order to see where parallels exist, what could be done and what would be best avoided. We will consider which types of programme may be appropriate and lead to success.

We start with immersion programmes, since Namibians are a majority in their own country and since they are to be taught, at least later on, through the medium of an L2. From the descriptors it appears that the only significant difference between Bantu education and immersion is the **status** of the group. Just as we have marked "high" for Zambia, the Namibian groups should have high status after independence. There is thus in principle nothing in the descriptors to prevent success if Namibians were to be taught predominantly through the medium of an L2 English from the very beginning.

Equally there is in principle nothing in the descriptors to prevent success if Namibians were to be taught predominantly through their MTs in a maintenance programme for a majority, like in our Uzbekistan example. On the basis of a consideration of the descriptors, two alternatives are open for Namibia, immersion and maintenance.

But matters look altogether different when we turn to the educational prerequisites as they will be in independent Namibia. In many parts of Namibia one language is prevalent, while urban areas are more multilingual. It may therefore be possible, at least in towns, to offer alternative programmes (factor 1). Any decision to use English only as ME

from the start of schooling would exclude any alternatives.

Most Namibian pupils would be **equally placed** either in programmes where nobody knows the ME, for instance English, or where everybody knows it, i.e. the MTs (2). Pupils whose mother tongue has relatively few speakers will need special support if MT medium programmes cannot be organized for them. SWAPO needs to **train teachers** who are **bilingual** (3). Some teachers are currently being trained outside Namibia, but not in Namibian languages. Even teachers who are trained can have poor results, as in segregation and submersion programmes, when they lack in-depth knowledge of the pupils' L1. **Bilingual materials** need to be developed (4) - and again it is the Namibian languages that most require attention. Racism and alienating **cultural values** need to be eradicated from teaching materials (5). This applies in its most acute form in apartheid textbooks (for examples see Ellis 1984), but also to those emanating from transnational, mainly British publishers, which dominate the African market. All these organizational factors represent problems which can be solved, as has been done in both the Canadian immersion and the Uzbekistan maintenance programmes for majority populations.

All the **learner-related affective factors** which are negative in Bantu education can become positive in independent Namibia (just as they are in Canada and Uzbekistan) if SWAPO educational policy is implemented and the teachers are trained accordingly. All these changes are extremely demanding to implement, and African experience shows how difficult it is to achieve them. In principle, however, they are possible. But it is **not possible** to change all the **language-related factors** so as to create optimal conditions. Mother tongues and English can be taught well at school (factors 9 and 13), enough relevant L1 material and adequately adapted L2 input can be provided (factors 10 and 14), and if institutional structures are developed in Namibian society in the major Namibian languages, opportunity for formal L1 deve-

lopment outside school can be organized (factor 11).

However, as long as English is the language of world capitalism, it is going to threaten the MTs (factor 12), lead to their displacement, stigmatization and underdevelopment (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1985). English is the key link between world capitalism and the local elites via the economic, military and cultural interests that unite them. English tends to replace the MTs of the elites, the Afrosaxons (Mazrui 1973). The only way to counteract this threat to the MTs is to organize education so as to strengthen the MTs maximally. This means among other things using them as dominant media throughout the school. As regards the remaining factors (15 and 16), there is little opportunity to practise English with native speakers informally or formally, because there are almost no native English speakers in Namibia.

Our analysis shows that several or the preconditions for an immersion programme for L2-medium teaching from early on, do not exist in Namibia. If English is made the medium from the start, or from early on, the situation becomes one of submersion, just as in Zambia. Here the results in English, even for those few who reach the cut-off points of the 7th and 12th grades, are not better than for children who have had English as a subject only in other countries (Africa 1980) - except that these children have developed their MTs and understood the subject matter instruction while many Zambian children have not. By contrast, most of the preconditions **are met** in a maintenance programme of the Uzbekistan type.

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

This discussion of educational research and experience in a range of contexts has attempted to adduce principles of such generality and predictive power that they can be of assistance to educational language planning for Namibia. There is substantial evidence that leading SWAPO educationalists are **forming policy** in an informed, sophisticated way

(Angula in Commonwealth Secretariat & SWAPO 1984, Geingob in Chamberlain et al 1981, Tjitendero 1984). Clearly the **implementation of policy** presents huge problems, which a liberation war, exile and refugee life traumatically exacerbate. There is evidence from many African countries of good policy not being implemented and of an increased use of LWCs after independence (Bokamba & Tlou 1980, Kalema 1980, Mateene 1980a, 1980b). Equally there is massive evidence that educational "aid", of the kind that Namibia, like many Third World countries, is likely to be obliged to accept, has not achieved its intended goals. This is of course also true of "aid" to industry, health and many other fields. Quite apart from the multitude of practical implementation problems, there are warning lights indicating that the initial policy was misconceived in many comparable contexts. Neo-colonial links and research imperialism mediated by CWC experts are in part responsible for this.

If research is to contribute to the solution of social problems, then both the research issues and the social reality have to be correctly dignosed and integrated. Thus when planners for Namibia correctly identify the need for a massive functional literacy campaign and extensive learning of English (Green undated, Ellis 1984) they appear to over-rate English and to under-rate the mother tongues. Even committed planners who are trying to serve the needs of the whole nation, not just the elite, may fall into this trap, because of the widespread and superficially appealing maximum exposure fallacy, which incorrectly holds that the more of an L2 people are exposed to, the more of it they learn (Cummins 1983). Bi-or trilingualism has been advocated as a national goal for multilingual African countries (Afolayan 1978, Tadadjeu 1980). If bi-or trilingualism for every individual is to be a national goal in independent Namibia, then use must be made of all Namibian languages in institutional structures in all domains of life. Educational means must be chosen so as to lead to these goals. Thus if education is the birthright of all, is to save people from poverty

by being closely linked to production, is to promote social change, and to train Namibians to staff a sophisticated economy (all declared SWAPO goals), then a strategy is needed which takes the research evidence and the local cultural, linguistic and ecological situation as their starting-points, also when choosing languages.

The OAU, founded 1963, has one article in its charter stipulating that the official use of foreign languages will be only provisionally tolerated. The OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages exists to "assist and encourage the use of indigenous African languages for educational, commercial and communication purposes on a national, regional and continental level" (document SC/CULT/6/2.70, quoted in Kalema 1980, 1). In practice there has been a gradual shift "in the direction of europeanisation of the media of instruction with a concomitant neglect of the teaching of African languages" (Bokamba & Tlou 1980, 49). "The foreign colonial languages are more favoured now than they were before independence" (Mateene 1980a, vii). "The use of vernaculars in education has been gradually phased out" (Bokamba & Tlou 1980, 49). Tanzania is an exception to this rule in sub-Saharan Africa, as is Somalia (for details see Scotton 1981).

Opting for English as a national language inevitably leads to an over-rating of English and an under-rating of the mother tongues, in a way which parallels how racism operates in other contexts. The argumentation used to legitimate the continued use of LWCs in Africa is the ideological underpinning of neo-colonialism, taking the place of military occupation (Galtung 1980). References to the supposed superiority of a European language, or its use in international relations, or its neutrality vis-a-vis competing local languages are one-sided and misleading. The arguments, and the underlying attitudes, are comparable to those used in imperialist anthropology, history and literature, and follow the same logic as racism. Racism is typically affirmed

- by means of **self-exaltation** on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself
- the **degradation** of the dominated group, and the suppression and stagnation of its culture, institutions, lifestyles and ideas
- by systematic **rationalization** of the relationships between both groups, always favourable to the dominant group (Preiswerk 1980).

There is a serious risk of the same processes applying when a former colonial language, which inevitably serves CWC interests, is retained as the main medium of education. Judging African languages according to European norms (eg in relation to "development" or modern vocabulary) invariably involves exaltation of the LWC and degradation of local languages. Claiming that a LWC can cement national unity and transcend local ethnolinguistic differences ignores the relationship of local LWC speakers to the CWC. Equally, ethnolinguistic homogeneity is not a prerequisite for national unity, nor can it result from decrees which try to simplify a complex linguistic reality (Kashoki 1982, Afolayan 1984, 13). This kind of rationalization is in the interests only of the local elite and the CWC. For refutation of the arguments conventionally adopted by apologists for LWCs, see Bokamba & Tlou 1980 and Mateene 1980b.

The main thrust of our argument is to indicate the dangers or premature adoption of English as ME in Namibian education and to stress the need to strengthen and support the Namibian languages. Our analysis is also confirmed by evidence from Asia, for instance India (Pattanayak 1981) and the Philippines (Smolicz 1983). However our paper should not be interpreted as in any way contesting SWAPO's decision to adopt English as an official language. If as many Namibians as possible are to learn English, educational policy decisions on the best means to reach this goal will benefit from an explicit clarification of the ideological purposes that various programmes serve. The same method, for

instance using the MT as ME, can function quite differently in politically different situations. When the South African divisively motivated MT policy is terminated, conditions may be appropriate for the kind of MT programme that has succeeded in Nigeria (the Ife project, see Afolayan 1984) with, for those who continue beyond elementary education, ease of transfer to using English as a medium. Or the MTs can be used as ME right through the education system, including higher education, as the OAU Inter-African Bureau for Languages recommends (Mateene 1980b, 23). English should be taught as a (foreign language) school subject throughout the education system, and high levels of achievement can be predicted if the overall language policy is well conceived and implemented.

We summarize our analysis in four claims:

1. English as an official language in Namibia will be assisted if Namibian languages are maximally used inside and outside the education system.
2. Resistance to the use of MTs is an expression of a colonized consciousness, which serves the interests of global capitalism and South Africa, and the bourgeosie and petty bourgeosie who are most dependent on capitalist interests.
3. Namibia should follow the example of those multilingual states which have alternative language programmes leading to bilingualism.
4. Educational aid from "donors" should be long-term and explicitly accept Namibian multilingual goals.

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CULTILINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM - WHAT CAN SCANDINAVIA LEARN FROM THE SECOND AND THIRD WORLDS?

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson[1)]

Scandinavia belongs to the rich, capitalist world, and its prosperity is contingent on favourable trading relations with the rest of the world. Scandinavia thus participates in the exploitation of the Third World. Official recognition of the need to learn foreign languages, in order to perpetuate our prosperity, can be seen in the prominence accorded to foreign languages in Scandinavian schools. While citizens of Britain and the United States can go through secondary and higher education with no requirement that they should study any foreign language, as much as 35% of curriculum time in Scandinavia may be devoted to foreign languages (Pohjala 1983).

Ignorance of language is likely to promote ignorance of culture. Virtually all Scandinavians, not least impressionable young ones, know what Dallas is, but one of us was once informed by an American university student that Finland was the capital of Amsterdam ... These different examples of cultural knowledge, indicators of relative familarity and ignorance, shed light on the workings of cultural imperialism at respectively the receiving and producing ends. Our focus in this paper is on the language policy aspects of cultural imperialism - cultilinguistic imperialism. Our belief is that many Scandinavians are unaware of some of the processes which are at work, and that we can learn from experience in the Second and Third Worlds. (Such labels are themselves imperialist, the "First" world crediting itself with primacy). Our purpose is to draw on experience from multilingual countries where cultilinguistic imperialism has been hotly debated and to review Scandinavian language policy vis-a-vis foreign languages and minority languages. Many of the comparisons and conclusions are extremely tentative, in the hope that they will provoke discussion of the issues

involved.

The transnational corporations are explicit about their economic and even their cultilinguistic goals. Walt Disney Educational Media Company investigated the worldwide market for educational technology products and had this to say about countries they classified as "developed" (Mattelart 1979, 136): "Steady continuing markets exist only in a few countries such as Sweden, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, which have highly developed educational systems that can use U.S. materials easily. Other highly developed nations such as France and Germany have the sophistication to use audiovisual materials, but these must be adapted to their needs, demands and language." It appears that Sweden is regarded as fitting into the same linguistic and cultural mould as the English-language Commonwealth countries. To check whether Sweden resents being regarded, along with ex-Commonwealth South Africa, as an easy market for American commercial cultural products, we sought guidance in a recent official report by the Commission on Migrant Languages and Cultural Heritages in School and Adult Education, to see whether it is English or minority languages which are seen as representing a threat to Swedish culture. "Discodans, hamburgare och jeans står sannolikt närmare en folklig kulturell verklighet för många unga människor än dalahästar och Frösöblomster... Skulle man kanske i stället ta fasta på det **gemensamma** i t.ex. "ungdomskulturen" och därifrån starta en diskussion om en ny "folkkultur"? (SOU 1983:57, 150).[2)] The question asked by Willy Brandt during the preparation of the second North-South report, "Do we all want to be Americans?" (Sampson 1981, 316) appears to be answered in the affirmative by the Swedish commission.

Moving to the Third World, the same Walt Disney report states that "the under-developed countries ... are likely to be customers for the whole range of products and services: technical teaching, primary teaching, literacy campaigns, in-company training, overall modernization of the national

educational system" (Mattelart 1979, 136). There is in fact a massive flow of such products and services to the Third World (in part financed by western governments, for instance buying British and American books for African countries).

Even if most Third World countries cannot provide much local counterweight to this cultural imperialism, powerful voices protest against it. Ngugi, from Kenya, wrote several successful novels in English before fully realizing that the western education given to him by the British was part of the "cultural genocide" (Ngugi 1981, 14) that his country was subjected to. In a novel written first in Gikuyu and later translated by Ngugi into English, a young African intellectual says:

"It is cultural imperialism that gives birth to the mental blindness and deafness that persuades people to allow foreigners to tell them what to do in their own country, to make foreigners the ears and mouths of their national affairs". (Ngugi 1982, 58).

Instead Ngugi envisages
"a culture wich can help us build a modern civilization free from the **social cannibalism** which today has reduced over threequarters of mankind to beggary, poverty and death, not because they don't work but because their wealth goes to feed, clothe and shelter a few idle classes in America, Western Europe and Japan." (Ngugi 1981, 48)

English is the key link between western capitalist interests and the Kenyan bourgeoisie, the "entering wedge" (Weinstein 1983, 182). It goes without saying that the foreigners who tell Kenyans what to do communicate with them in English, whether they are from the World Bank, a transnational corporation or a Scandinavian aid organization. World capitalism operates through the medium of English, whether in Kenya or Washington - or in Stockholm (see Hollqvist 1984). The worldwide spread of English is a prerequisite and consequence of

present-day capitalism. Policy-makers at the Centre are interested in the entire Periphery, as Caspar Weinburger makes clear: "there is no corner of the world so remote, no nation so insignificant, that it does not represent a vital interest of the United States" (Guardian Weekly, 20 May 1984). It is no coincidence that senior members of the Reagan administration came in straight from Big Business, from the control-rooms of the military-industrial complex.

Where exactly does remote Scandinavia fit into this picture of vital US interests? How does the spread of English in Scandinavia contribute to this scenario? To clarify the nature of cultilinguistic imperialism we shall make and examine two claims about the role and spread of English in Scandinavia. To validate these we shall then present a typology of factors influencing cultilinguistic imperialism and consider how far each factor is present in three different regions, representative of the Third, Second and First Worlds, namely southern African countries, a Soviet Central Asian Republic, and Scandinavia.

Our **first claim** is that the spread of English in Scandinavia does **not** represent such a threat to the mother tongues that these will be **replaced.** What is occurring is **mother tongue displacement in favour of English.** This means that English is taking over in specific domains. **This expansion is** not only the result of propagation and imposition from the outside but is ideologically and institutionally **promoted and controlled by the indigenous elites** (i.e. economic, political, military and cultural elites, including us educationists and linguists, see Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, forthcoming).[3)]

Our **second claim** is that **the Scandinavian countries,** maybe especially Sweden, are **less aware of this spread of English, and its causes and consequences,** than many Second and Third World countries vis-a-vis a language of wider communication, LWC. This may be caused by the fact that **economic and cul-**

tural colonization are more difficult to detect than military subjugation. There is a heightened ethno-ideological consciousness among Scandinavians vis-a-vis immigrants (and their languages), but paradoxically not in relation to English.

We shall briefly present the 3 areas which are serving as our examples. Our own involvement in educational language planning in a **Third World** country is through working with SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) of Namibia on the training of English teachers and curriculum development (Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Africa 1985). Namibia is still illegally occupied by South Africa, depite numerous UN resolutions. SWAPO has decided that English is to be an official language in independent Namibia. The mother tongues will be media of education at the lower primary level, and not neglected thereafter (SWAPO 1982, 40, Commonwealth Secretariat and SWAPO 1984, 19). At present less than 1% of the population of 1½ million have English as their mother tongue. There are seven main local language groups (Chamberlain et al. 1981, 3). English is seen as the language of liberation (Afrikaans being the oppressor's language), a language to unite the nation's many linguistic groups, the language of modernization, pan-Africanism etc. However, SWAPO is also keen to heed Ngugi's warning voice, and to learn from the often disastrous educational experience of other African countries, Angula 1984.

Many African countries have used the former colonial language, eg English, as the medium of education from early in the primary school. Mother tongues have been untaught, or subjects only, or transitional. This policy of "too much emphasis put on English and neglect of the home languages at the primary level" (Ladefoged et al. 1972, 147, a description of Uganda), results in low educational achievement. This is a general pattern throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Bokamba & Tlou 1980, Mateene 1980). In a study of Zambian proficiency in English (Africa 1980), standards were found

to be no higher than in countries where English is learned as a foreign language - and yet English is the medium through which all subjects are being taught from start to finish of the Zambian school. There are reports from many African countries of massive drop-out rates from the lowest grades and upwards, learners parroting incomprehensible language, and teachers only being able to reproduce the standard textbook or even their college notes (Afolayan 1984). Among the many causal factors for this state of affairs are the limited training of teachers and their inadequate proficiency in English, and African countries' dependence on the First World for pedagogical know-how and for teaching materials and syllabuses. There is an increasing awareness that the cultural content of these is inappropriate for African learners (Commonwealth Secretariat and SWAPO 1984, 34-35, Ngugi 1981, chapters 1-2).

Most African countries formerly under British rule have a **multilingual population,** and **English as the language of wider communication** plays the same role in them as French and Portuguese elsewhere in Africa. Arabic and Kiswahili have rather different roles.

The **Second World** example is Uzbekistan, one of the 15 Soviet republics. It is, like African countries, **multilingual,** and strongly influenced by a **language of wider communication,** namely **Russian.** The Uzbeks represent more than half of the population of 16 million. The other major ethno-linguistic groups are offered education through the medium of their mother tongues. The development model implemented by Soviet policy after 1917 has taken the republic from (secular) illiteracy and feudal economic and administrative conditions to a situation where the economy is thriving and an expanding population is well-fed and well-educated. During a recent visit to this area our impression was that people had a positive attitude to their mother tongues and claimed to combine strong feelings of identification with local culture and language, and with Soviet ideology, without conflicts of

loyalty. On the other hand some analysts of developments in recent decades express concern both about the quality of Russian learning and about the increasing spread of Russian at the expense of the local languages. The tension in this balance of power between local languages and the LWC is observable in Soviet educational language planning (see Grigulevich & Kozlov 1981, Guboglo 1985, Krag 1983, and International Journal of the Sociology of Language 33, 1982).

Our **First World** example is the four Nordic Countries, Denmark (5.1 million), Finland (4.8), Norway (4.1) and Sweden (8.3). Despite relative cultural homogeneity, in part due to Denmark and Sweden having colonized Norway, and Sweden having colonized Finland, there are major distinctions, among them:

- Finnish is a Finno-Ugric, non-Indo-European language, related to the Sámi (in colonial language, Lapp) languages; Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are Germanic, Indo-European, with a high degree of mutual intercomprehensibility,
- Denmark and Norway are members of NATO, Sweden is militarily non-aligned, Finland has a treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union (1948),
- Denmark alone is a member of the European Economic Community.

The standard of living is higher and more evenly distributed throughout the Nordic countries than anywhere else in the world. There is a higher proportion of women elected to the national parliaments than elsewhere (Finland leads with 33%). Despite differences, there is intensive cooperation between the Nordic countries, which has resulted in an agreement on the free movement of labour (1954), abolition of passports for internal Nordic travel, a customs union, etc.

In Scandinavia, English is an obligatory school subject, exept in bilingual Finland, where the two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, are the only obligatory languages. All Finnish schoolchildren have to study at least two lan-

guages other than their mother tongue, starting in grade 3. Although there is a choice between several languages, in practice the vast majority learn English.

The typology of factors accounting for language maintenance and relative language shift in situations of cultilinguistic imperialism is grouped into three broad categories. The **first** set covers a number of **indicators of the relative degree of "development".** Some are **economic** (industrialization, urbanization), some **cultural-ideological** (amount of education, including literacy and the degree of power-sharing between elites and ordinary people) and some are **language-related** factors. We subdivide these, using language planning concepts, into **corpus planning** (standardization, including reference works, teaching materials, terms for science, technology etc, and historicity, ie existence of a written literary tradition - see Stewart 1970, 535-536) and **status planning** (the autonomy and vitality of the languages, Stewart, ibid.).

The **second** set of factors covers the **use of the languages** in education and in public and private life.

Our **third** set of factors **relates local languages to the LWC and CWC** (the culture of wider communication, the culture represented by LWC)**via economic, military and ideological links.**

The first set covers the prerequisites for potential support for both local languages and the LWCs, the second set the actual use made of these languages. The third set considers the balance of power between them. It identifies variables which function as causal, independent variables in ongoing processes of language maintenance and language shift. Our second set, use of the languages, represents consequences, dependent on the causal variables, while the prerequisites function as mediating variables. Any generalizations in relation to these broad categories are abstractions

TABLE 1

	SOUTHERN AFRICA		UZBEKISTAN		SCANDINAVIA	
1 RELATIVE DEGREE OF "DEVELOPMENT"						
Economic						
industrialization	low		mid		high	
urbanization	low		mid		high	
Cultural-ideological						
amount of education	low		high		high	
power-sharing elites/people	low		mid		mid	
	own	**LWC**	**own**	**LWC**	**own**	**LWC**
Language-related						
corpus planning						
standardization	no/yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
historicity	no	yes	yes?	yes	yes	yes
status planning						
autonomy	yes/no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
vitality	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2 USE OF LANGUAGES						
Education						
medium in grades 1-6	no/yes	yes/no	yes	no/yes	yes	no
obligatory subject	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
cultural goals CWC	no	no	yes	yes	?	yes
medium in grades 7-12	no	yes	yes/no	no/yes	yes	no
obligatory subject	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
cultural goals CWC	-	yes	yes	yes	?	yes
required for higher ed.	no	yes	no/yes	yes	yes	yes
essential in higher ed.	no	yes	no/yes	yes	yes	yes
corps qualified teachers	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Public and private use						
an official language	yes/no	yes	yes	yes/no	yes	no?
lang. for central admin.	no/yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no/yes?
lingua franca outside world	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
daily newspapers	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
books	no/yes?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
radio	no/yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
TV	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
High Street commercialism	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
major role youth culture	yes	yes	yes	yes?	yes	yes
lingua franca professionals	no	yes	yes/no	yes	yes/no	yes
lingua franca ordinary people	yes/no	no	yes?	no	yes	no
language at home, elites	no?	yes	yes	no	yes	no
language home, ordinary people	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
3 RELATIONSHIP TO LWC AND CWC						
Economy						
significant export to CWC	yes		yes		no	
significant import from CWC	yes		yes?		yes	
dependent on food imports	yes		no		no	
dependent on energy imports	yes		no?		yes	
transnational or CWC capital	yes		yes		yes	
CWC banks	yes		yes		no/yes	
Military						
conquest, imperial admin.	yes		yes		no	
strategic importance for CWC	yes		yes		yes	
military alliance with CWC	no		yes		yes/no	
Ideology						
culture penetrated by CWC	yes		no?		yes	
LWC claims to be neutral	yes		no		yes	
awareness of and resistance to threat posed by LWC	yes?		yes		no?	
awareness of and resistance to threat posed by CWC	no?		yes?		yes?	

from a complex reality and as such debatable. Awarding an unambiguous **yes** or **no** for each factor must inevitably entail a huge overgeneralization. But this is necessary in order to chart some of the underlying structural forces.

In the table charting the three sets of factors related to cultilinguistic imperialism we have been obliged to treat Southern Africa and Scandinavia en bloc. We have already referred to something of the complex variation between Scandinavian countries. The same is of course true to an even greater extent of southern Africa. For instance the majority of contemporary nation-states are multilingual. In Zambia there is a wealth of local languages, none of which can claim nationwide pre-eminence, though Bemba may be emerging as a lingua franca in the Copper Belt. In Botswana by contrast, over 90% of the population have Setswana as their mother tongue.

Our first set of factors covers indicators of the **RELATIVE DEGREE OF "DEVELOPMENT"**, a loaded term, as it normally implies an uncritical acceptance of capitalist notions of industrial and colonial expansion, and denigration of cultures which are less technologically advanced. The yardsticks in conceptualizing what development is are both materialistic and racist (see Pattanayak 1981a,2-3, 16-17, and Rodney's book How Europe underdeveloped Africa, 1972). As **economic** pointers we use **industrialization** and **urbanization.** We rate these as respectively **low, mid** and **high** for southern Africa, Uzbekistan and Scandinavia. The **amount of education** indicator records **high** for Uzbekistan as there are 10 years of obligatory schooling, shortly to increase to 11. We estimate that the **degree of power-sharing** between ruling elites and ordinary people is low in Africa and not higher than mid in the other two regions. For the remaining pointers in sets 1 and 2, a rating is given separately for the local languages in the area (**own**), and the LWC, ie English for southern Africa and Scandinavia, and Russian for Uzbekistan. Under

language planning, standardization covers the existence of reference works, teaching materials, established terms for scientific concepts etc. Terminological innovation is constantly needed even in Scandinavia, see the recent debate in the Norwegian parliament on the need for Norwegian instead of English terms in the oil and computer industries (Nordisk Kontakt 7, 1984, 557). As regards **historicity,** the Eurocentric focus on written language and canonized literary texts to the exclusion of oral traditions (see Pattanayak 1981a) results in a **no** for African local languages while our own contemporary cultures might rate very low if a rich oral tradition were the criterion. **Autonomy** includes the degree to which a language is not derivative in the way dialects are. Central Asian and Scandinavian languages have distinct individual status, whereas many of the language families in southern Africa may have less clear boundaries, partly because they are less well described, partly because they have not served as boundary markers for nation-states. All the languages in question can be rated as having strong **vitality.**

The **potential** for using **both** local languages and the LWC is great in both Uzbekistan and Scandinavia, whereas Africa has a low rating on the economic and cultural-ideological indicators and is in a weak position on most of the language-related variables. In a major study by Fishman et al (1977) of the position of English in 102 nations, there is a positive correlation between use of English on the one hand, and economic indicators, amount of education, and language-related corpus-planning factors on the other hand. But one consequence of being a poor country is a greater likelihood of dependence on using English as a medium of instruction, and a probability of uequal access to the learning of English in formal schooling (Fishman, ibid, 105).

The status and **USE OF** local **LANGUAGES** AND LWCs is analyzed in the next set of factors. The choice of a vernacular or a colonial language as the **medium of primary education** has

been a recurrent theme in educational language planning in Africa for 70 years and is still fiercely debated (see Mateene & Kalema 1980). In some countries English is used from the start, in others a local language. In Uzbekistan the child can choose between education in one of several local languages or Russian. In Scandinavia the dominant groups have the right to be educated through the medium of their mother tongues, whereas indigenous and immigrant minorities have to fight for this right. The LWC is an **obligatory subject** in all areas (de facto in Finland too), while not all mother tongues are. The low status of minority mother tongues in Scandinavia has parallels in the neglect of both minority and majority mother tongues in many African countries. All language teaching conveys cultural messages. The teaching of local languages or a LWC may or may not be **oriented towards the culture of wider communication** (CWC). In an ideologically explicit educational system such as in Uzbekistan, the teaching of both local languages and the LWC is geared towards Soviet ideology, the CWC. In African countries the explicit goals are not related to British or American culture. English has indigenized in many parts of the Third World and the linguistic aspects of this are documented (Bailey & Görlach 1982). Hence our **no** for CWC goals. However there are **strong** links between the use of English and the CWC, as any analysis of the relationship between education and the functioning of global capitalism shows (eg Apple 1982a,b), as does any consideration of the role of the former colonial powers in the education systems of independent African countries. For instance the British Council's role as an agent of cultural diplomacy is described in the organization's Annual Reports. The dissemination of English, which is essential to this form of cultural imperialism, is seen by the director of the Organization for African Unity's Bureau of Languages as follows: Europeans ... "are paid by their countries of origin to safeguard their linguistic influence in Africa, and to discourage us from developing African languages ..." (Mateene 1980, 31). Colonial languages keep Africans in slavery (ibid, 12), in a situation in which they are"mentally colonized" (ibid, 28). "To have access even to

primary education one must know a European language, a language foreign to almost all African children of school going age ... In this way education and learning which are absolute rights are conditioned by the knowledge of a European language" (ibid, 14).

In grades 7-12 the decisive position of LWCs and CWCs is confirmed by the LWC being **the (only) obligatory foreign language subject.** It is a **requirement for** continuing in **higher education,** and proficiency in at least reading it is a **precondition for** being able to **study** in all three areas. For instance in Denmark the only university subject that can be studied without reading English texts is law. In Uzbekistan, all doctoral theses in subjects other than the humanities have to be written in Russian, a requirement which is not always followed. In Africa, "it is the knowledge of foreign languages which becomes the criterion for assessing the intellectual and professional capability of someone" (ibid, 20).

This rasies the issue of when a "foreign" language becomes a "second" language. A foreign language has been defined in terms of "geographical origin outside the area where a language is spoken" (Pattanayak on India, 1981b, 165-6) or as "a language from outside the speech community" (Appel on Holland, 1984, 1). In this **historical** sense both LWCs discussed here are foreign. From a **pedagocical** point of view, geographical origins are less important than whether or not the language is used in the speech community. If it is, it is a second language; if it is not, the language is foreign, irrespective of the presence of native speakers in the community. Choice of label will depend on the purpose for which a language has been defined. Since one or our purposes is to chart the power relationships between different languages and cultures, we propose a **political science** definition. This holds that second languages serve central stratificational purposes inside a country, whereas foreign languages are peripheral enrichment.

Effectively this means that in all three areas the LWC has acquired the status of a **second** (as opposed to a foreign) **language** because of its role within the country: **it functions as a screening instrument for** academic **success,** in the same way as other core curriculum subjects, like the mother tongue and mathematics in Scandinavia, and serves to reproduce the class structure through the education system. When **teacher qualifications** are inadequate, as is the case in many African countries, the class background of pupils assumes more importance and the screening role of the LWC is even more pronounced.

In most African countries the colonial languages have remained as **official** languages and languages for **central administration,** but with some re-instatement of local languages. Even though English has no official status in Scandinavia, it has been interpreted by non-Scandinavians as having virtually semi-official status (eg Cobarrubias 1983, 66). For these two regions, English is the undisputed **lingua franca with the outside world.** This is not surprising, granted the predominance of English in transnational business, international organisations and the fact that the US controls 65% of the flow of ideas and information circulating to the world - see Unesco's attempts to control American monopoly of satellite transmissions (Mattelart 1979, 94) and to establish a new international information order (Weinstein 1983, 180).

Uzbekistan's media operate in local languages and the LWC, whereas in African countries local languages are scarcely used, except in Tanzania, Somalia and Ethiopia (Mateene 1980, 17). While the **daily newspapers** and the **radio** are essentially local products in Scandinavia, a vast amount of programme time on **national television** is of foreign origin (subtitled in Scandinavian languages), predominantly from the CWC (Yearbook of Nordic Statistics 1981, 322). It is indicative of the relative cultural vitality of Scandinavian nations that Finland produces as many hours per week locally

as Denmark and Norway combined (Finland 40.2, Denmark 21.5, Norway 19.7 hours/week). Cultural choice in Copenhagen is between Dallas on Danish or on Swedish TV. The LWCs have a significant share of the **book** market in all three areas. Local elites (literary, academic, technical) also **write** in the LWC, thus providing the CWC with information (without the cost of translating) and excluding many of their own people from access to this information.[4] British educational publishers dominate the market in southern Africa.

In Uzbekistan and Scandinavia many translations from the LWC to local languages are published, whereas the traffic in the other direction is a trickle. A comparison between translations from different source languages in the 4 Scandinavian countries reinforces our claims about the differential impact of the English language CWC in each. The figures show that the 4 Nordic countries belong in the English language CWC periphery, with marginal influence from French, Russian and German.

TABLE 2

Translations from different languages, 1981

	English	French	Russian	German	Other Scandinavian (excl. Fi)	Total number of books
DENMARK	678	122	26	141	226	1330
FINLAND	613	68	51	103	224	1243
NORWAY(1980)	720	48	15	82	315	1265
SWEDEN	1549	177	42	180	214	2353

Source: Yearbook or Nordic Statistics 1982, 315.

High Street commercialism ranges from the global availability of Coca Cola, and masses of products in our village shop in Denmark (revealing called Superland) with English names and a product declaration in English - you **have** to understand English in order to shop for food in Scandinavia -

to English being the language of the brave new Euroworld of credit card holders (see EuroWorld, the journal sent "free" to Swedish Eurocard-holders, called "beslutsfattaretablisse-manget" (the decision-maker establishment) 1984, 2, 32). As the Swedish commission correctly diagnoses (see above), youth culture is a transnational CWC consumer culture. Even the many Oriental meditation-inspired cults come to Scandinavia via California rather than direct.

While the LWC is not the **lingua franca** or a **language used at home by ordinary people** in any of the three regions, it is used by **professionals** (business, political, military, academic) in each area as a **lingua franca.** But it is only in Africa that the LWC is widely used **in the home by the elites.**

Our charting of the use of languages in education and in public and private life shows that there is very little difference in the use of **LWC**s in the three areas. Where these differ is in how much the **local** languages are used. Local languages in Africa may be progressively asserting themselves, even if use of the LWC has increased since independence (Bokamba & Tlou 1980, Mateene 1980). In Scandinavia the spread of English into more and more domains is occupying space formerly filled by local languages (see Ljung 1982; Jones 1983; Sajavaara 1983; Sørensen 1973; Vinje 1977 for respectively Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway).[5] The same may be true of Russian in Uzbekistan, but here there seems to be more conscious resistance to the advance of the LWC at the expense of the mother tongues than is the case in Scandinavia. In order to analyse some of the factors which can explain shifts we turn to our third set of factors.

The **economic** and **military** factors attempt to gauge the degree to which the CWC is important for the three areas and vice versa. Africa and Uzbekistan produce raw materials which are vital for CWCs whereas Scandinavian **exports** com-

pete with CWC production. All three areas are dependent on **imports** from CWCs, not least for technological advances, as the figures for patents granted show (table 3). These confirm the picture of Sweden being the most CWC dependent and Finland the most self-reliant, at the same time as these two countries are also the most creative.

TABLE 3

Patents granted in	Country of origin			
	OWN	**USA**	**Federal German Republic**	**TOTAL (all countries)**
DENMARK	163	302	318	1 439
FINLAND	491	325	283	2 050
NORWAY	179	404	245	1 847
SWEDEN	1 321	1 059	782	4 882

Yearbook of Nordic Statistics 1982, 126.

The economic underdevelopment of Africa has converted these countries from **self-sufficiency** to being dependent on **food** imports, while the rising **energy** prices have aggravated their problems in industrializing. Uzbekistan is self-sufficient, but for expansion it is dependent on water being piped from other Soviet republics. Scandinavia could immediately be self-sufficient in food but with the exception of Norway not in energy. **CWC capital** plays a major role in the economies of all three areas and even Scandinavia is in the process of becoming less restrictive in allowing **CWC banks** to operate locally. Any dependence on the CWC, marked by a **yes**, is likely to strengthen the LWC.

The perpetuation of imperial languages correlates strongly with **military conquest** at some earlier point (Brosnahan 1962, confirmed in Fishman et al. 1977). Pending the stationing of the CWC missiles, Scandinavia gets a **no**. Following the Weinburger doctrine, and remembering that there have been over one hundred wars since 1945, all three areas are

positively marked for **strategic importance**. The picture as regards formal **military alliances** is more varied. Swedish "neutrality" and the compromises necessary to maintain it over the past fifty years seem to have facilitated assimilation to the CWC. As the Finns have experienced 650 years of colonization by the Swedes and a century of annexation by the Russians, and numerous wars, there is a likelihood of heightened consciousness of the threat from the CWC. This takes us to the final set of factors, the **ideological** concomitants of economic and military links.

Despite potentially high levels of consciousness about the influence of CWCs, Africa and Scandinavia (including Finland) have been culturally penetrated by the CWC. In Uzbekistan where CWC ideology is explicitly promulgated, and where the LWC does not claim to be neutral, there may be a more harmonious coexistence between local cultures and CWC. Official Soviet language policy promotes diglossia, a functional differentiation between the local languages and Russian. The local languages are associated with traditional culture and the local cultural heritage, Russian is associated with the political message of socialism (Bruk & Guboglo 1981).

One of the most striking things about the consolidation of English in Africa and the spread of English in Scandinavia is that English has been regarded as culturally neutral, in Fishman's terms "as culturally and ideologically unencumbered" (1977, 118). English does not have the strong bond with a religion that Arabic has with Islam. Nor does the image of English, according to Fishman, connect with any political ideology in the way Russian does with socialism. It is our basic premise in this paper that English **is** the language of world capitalism, meaning that we contest that it can in any sense be neutral. But English has been **marketed** as the neutral language of development, modernization, science and technology, international understanding, etc.

Our last two pointers make a distinction between the

languages and the **cultures** of wider communication. In our analysis, there may be a greater coherence and a more conscious awareness of the links between language and culture in Uzbekistan because the ideological link is made explicit, and because there is relative economic and linguistic self-sufficiency. The language and culture link-up may be clear in the African countries too, because of the colonial past and the physical force with which both the language and the culture were imposed initially. But because of economic dependence and the desperate need for CWC products, Africans cannot always afford to resist, at least in the short run, the ideological temptations connected with the CWC (modernization, technological development etc), even if they might resist or be aware of the risks connected with the LWC. It is to the economic advantage of the elites in Africa to promote CWC interests.

In Scandinavia, on the other hand, there is at least some popular resistance to the ideological or even the material values represented by American and British cultures, while everybody agrees on the necessity of learning the English language. Scandinavian relative proficiency in English pays off commercially and this increases motivation to learn the language. However, awareness of the spread of the language and the threat posed by this seems, if it exists at all, to be connected with the most superficial linguistic aspects, for instance the marketing of luxury products. There may, as a Finnish study shows (Sajavaara 1983), be resistance to the use of Anglicisms in advertising, but not to using them in professional terminology. Connections between language and culture are made at best at selective points. There are clear economic advantages, for individuals and nations in Scandinavia, in having a relatively high competence in English. These advantages may make Scandinavians blind to the threat posed by the CWC.

To summarize our claims about awareness of and resistance to the threat of cultural and linguistic displacement posed

by LWCs and CWCs and about awareness of the links between language and culture:

- **in Uzbekistan there is awareness of the threat posed by LWC and CWC and an awareness of the connections between language and culture. But there is no serious need for resistance.**
- **in Africa there is an awareness of both threats, and some resistance to the LWC, and also awareness of the links between language and culture. But there is no real possibility of resisting the cultural products, for economic reasons, and because of the links between the elites in the First and Third Worlds.**
- **in Scandinavia there is some awareness of and resistance to the culture and its products; we can afford this, due to our relative economic strength and self-sufficiency. But there is relatively little resistance to the LWC and little awareness of the ideological connections between language and culture.**

This summary in fact substantiates the **second** of the two claims made at the beginning our our paper, namely that the Scandinavian countries are less aware of the spread of the LWC and its causes and consequences, than many Second and Third World countries.

Our **first** claim was that we are witnessing in Scandinavia a displacement of the mother tongues in favour of English, that English is being used in more and more domains. It seems clearly proven to us that the internationalisation of the economy, of military aliances, of the technical and academic worlds, of entertainment and the media, of news dissemination and youth culture has led to an internationalisation of the education system in peripheral areas like Scandinavia. This has given English a key role in each Scandinavian country. The school subject English contributes decisively to the disqualification of the majority of the population from access to higher education and power, and qualifies the elite to function in an interdependent internatio-

nal world. More and more Scandinavians are obliged to **understand** English in their everyday lives, while the elites and qualified technicians need to **use** English in their working lives. The expansion of English is in the interests of the CWC and is also promoted by indigenous elites. It is administered by the state in areas under its control (education, television, central government) and by private economic concerns (transnational and domestic business) elsewhere.

In discussing **attitudes towards language rights,** Cobarrubias (1983, 75) distinguishes between **toleration-oriented** and **promotion-oriented** attitudes. Most of the indicators of language use in education and in public and private life discussed earlier can be seen in terms of language rights. In table 1, the column for the LWC in Scandinavia under "Use of Languages" shows that the English language in Scandinavia is not only tolerated but directly promoted in most of the categories listed, institutional and private.

When the promotion of English is compared with the use made of both indigenous and immigrant languages in Scandinavia and the language rights accorded to them, it is apparent that these languages are **not** promoted. At best they are tolerated. In Denmark, Finland and Norway no minority groups have the right to use their mother tongue as the medium of education in schools. In Sweden less than 20% of the immigrant minority children are allowed to have some education, mainly in grades 1-6, in part through their mother tongue, even though there are qualified teachers available. Minority mother tongues are not obligatory subjects, neither for majority nor minority children. They are not required for any higher education. The minority languages have no official status. A few of the languages are grudgingly granted some time on radio, and they are virtually never heard on television. There are no daily newspapers. Many books are published, but always by the minority representatives themselves. The minority languages are peripheral to High Street commercialism and youth culture. Despite lip-service

paid to the importance of multiculturalism, at least in Sweden and Norway, minority cultures have had no impact on mainstream schools as cultural institutions. (For details of the educations of minorities in Scandinavia see Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). The situation throughout Scandinavia is one of **bare toleration of minority languages,** as compared with **promotion for English** (and much less support for other foreign languages, eg French and German).

The lack of awareness of and resistance to the spread of English in Scandinavia has as its counterpart an attitude towards the local Scandinavian majority mother tongues which we would characterize as an **attitude of embarrassment.** The mother tongues are taken more or less for granted. Any explicit expression of emotional attachment is met by an embarrassed silence and played down with reference to arguments about the risk of nationalism, sometimes with an implicit hint at links with Nazi ideology.The natural pride and emotional bond felt by many other peoples vis-a-vis their languages appear to induce guilt feelings and embarrassment in Scandinavia, at least in Sweden and Denmark. Scandinavians who emigrated to North America or Australia were in general among the fastest to drop their mother tongues (Fishman 1966, Clyne 1982). This attitude of embarrassment, along with the attitude of promotion towards English, may function as a contributory factor in making Scandinavians more vulnerable to penetration from a LWC.

By contrast, what we see as **existing** in Uzbekistan and **emerging** in many Third World countries is awareness of the importance of and conscious pride in the mother tongues, and promotion of these, and an attitude of toleration of LWCs (eg Afolayan 1984, Mateene 1980). Besides, in the Second and Third Worlds, bi-and multilingualism and bi-and multiculturalism are widespread and seen as being natural, possible to attain, and beneficial for the individual and the society (Pattanayak 1981b, 1985). These are attitudes we can learn from. Any educational changes in Scandinavia

should start by re-examining attitudes to majority mother tongues, minority mother tongues (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) and the LWC, attitudes to bi-and multilingualism, and the connections between language and culture.

If Scandinavian education is to benefit from insights from Second and Third World experience, consideration should be given to implementation of the following:

Attitudes to **majority mother tongues** should shift from more defensive embarrassment to unashamed, legitimate pride and identification. Awareness of the threat from English should strengthen efforts to purify the languages, not in anachronistic or nationalistic sense, but to re-ethnicize and revitalize the languages. This would include a radical analysis of the relationships between language and culture so that elements of cultural imperialism (including racism and sexism) can be more effectively resisted.

Attitudes to **minority mother tongues** should shift from cultilinguistic imperialism and bare toleration to active promotion of these in all domains of language use in education and in public and private life. This would include teaching minority languages to majority and minority groups.

Attitudes to **English** should shift from lack of awareness and uncritical promotion to ensuring that the learning of proficiency aspects of English is combined with metacommunicative awareness (Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984). This would include analysis of all aspects of the role and status of the English language and its culture of wider communication in Scandinavia.

However, the relationships between the Scandinavian majority mother tongues (MaMTs), English and the minority mother tongues (MiMTs) are of course not as unproblematical as this presentation implies. One way of arguing might be the following:

If one is proud of one's mother tongue (rather than embarrassed) and wants to promote it, doesn't this attitude imply a resistance to the spread of **all** other languages, both English and MiMTs in Scandinavia? If one does **not** wish to promote diglossia between, for instance, Swedish and English in Sweden (English for some official purposes, Swedish elsewhere, including home and school), why should one want to promote diglossia between Swedish and MiMTs for minorities? If one resists the spread of English in Scandinavia, would there not be an equally strong case for resisting the spread of MiMTs too, in order to give maximal support to the Scandinavian MaMTs? And if one opens the door to diglossia between the Scandinavian MaMTs and MiMTs (and English is also one of them), there must be a great risk of the national languages being progressively displaced?

We think that these questions are in some sense very Eurocentric (or westerncentric). They rest on the assumption that a nation-state cannot have more than one or two languages - if it has more, it is a sign of underdevelopment, as Pattanayk has put it (1985). Or it is disruptive, blocks national unity and leads to separatism (the point American politicians make about the Canadian situation, where there are no more than two official languages). This way of conceptualizing the issues represents a false polarization: either you promote **all** languages or you resist **all.** But it is important to differentiate languages to be promoted and resisted in terms of their functions. Languages which are MTs of minorities living in the country (indigenous or immigrant) should be promoted as a matter of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1985). Languages which function as LWC and in this capacity also promote the interests of their CWC (which is largely external to the Scandinavian countries) should be scrutinized so as to ensure that the concomitants of the language are clearly understood by those who need to use the language, and only those aspects of the language are promoted which are in the interest of the people and country concerned. To put it bluntly: do for in-

stance capitalist ideology and transnational youth culture and the products associated with them belong to those aspects Scandinavia needs and wants to promote together with the English language?

Here we have only touched upon some of the important questions we think need elaboration. In forming language policy, Scandinavia should attempt to draw to a far greater extent on successful (and less successful) multilingual experience in Second and Third World countries. This should help to clarify the different purposes served by each language in the community, and to identify which languages need greater support and which features of cultilinguistic imperialism need to be resisted.

Notes

1. We are grateful for comments on the first version of this paper to Jens Allwood, Eva Chylinski, Helen Krag, Judith Ottosen, Kari Sajavaara, Derrick Sharp and Ulf Teleman.

2. "disco dancing, hamburgers and jeans probably come closer to popular cultural reality for many young people today than Dala horses and Frösö flowers ... it might be preferable to start with what is **common** to, for instance, "youth culture", and from there start a discussion of a new "popular culture"?

3. For an elaborate theory of different phases and types of imperialism, including the interdependence of cultural with other forms of imperialism, see Galtung 1980. This includes a description of collaboration between the elites in Centre nations and Periphery nations.

4. This point was made to us by Anton Hoem.

5. Is Scandinavia following in the tracks of the colonized African countries a century later - voluntarily?

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CAN INCREASED METACOMMUNICATIVE AWARENESS SOLVE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTIES?

Robert Phillipson & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

1. Research into both **foreign & second language learning** and **the educational problems of linguistic minorites** converges at many points. One of these is a concern with how users of a foreign or second language actually cope with the difficulties encountered in intercultural communication. We shall summarise some research in this area and then explore the issue of whether **metacommunicative awareness** on the part of such language users represents a resource which can be drawn on, perhaps heightened and exploited in order to benefit those who have to confront problematic intercultural communication situations.

2.1. In western European industrialized countries alone, there are some 5 million children whose parents have immigrated to the country where they now reside. Most of those children who **do** go to school (and far from all do, though they should) do poorly at school, drop out early, and get little further education. The unemployment rates for immigrant youth are two to three times as high as those for native youth (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a).

Educational measures in different countries are based on **deficit theories** which postulate deficits in the children and their parents/group/milieu as the causes for poor school achievement (Churchill 1984). The explanatory causes which have been used are

- an **L2-related learning handicap:** the child does not know L2 sufficiently well,
- **socially based learning deficit:** the child's parents come from (lower) working class,
- **culturally based learning deficit:** the child's cultural background is "different" from that of the school, and
- an **L1-related learning handicap,** a mother tongue deprivation: the child has not learned L1 well enough to have a

basis for learning L2 sufficiently well.

2.2. In Sweden the main difference between native Swedes and the largest immigrant group, the Finns, is a linguistic difference (Swedish is North Germanic, Indo-European, Finnish is Finno-Ugric). This has led to an early focus on the language-related explanations, in contrast to countries like West Germany and the United Kingdom where the social and cultural causes were accorded more prominence. In Sweden, both the immigrant child's languages have been looked upon as deficient, because those children who have been instructed through the medium of Swedish, the majority language, do less well than monolinguals in language tests in both languages.

From a **pragmatic political** point of view, the focus on language **deficits** has been and is necessary. As long as those language skills which standardized language tests measure are a prerequisite for good school achievement, the schools should give minority children the opportunity to attain them, quite regardless of what they are and how linguistically sound or fair the norms used for the tests are. If the schools do not do this, the schools have failed. If the schools are deficient, the children's performance becomes deficient.

2.3. But using **deficit-based explanations** has prevented research into the details of the particular **positive characteristics of the bilingual communicative competence** that the minority children possess. Instead of looking at minority children as possessing deficient linguistic skills in two languages (which many of them no doubt do in relation to the demands posed by schools) and as poor creatures to be pitied and feared (the lost generation; the European time-bomb), another type of conceptualisation of their difficulties is needed in **minority education research:**

- at the **pragmatic political** level what should be studied is the ways in which the schools and the societies in control of them are deficient in how they organize minority child-

ren´s education
- at the **pedagogical and sociological** level the conceptualisation of the children´s problems should shift from deficit theories to **enrichment theories** which see high levels of bilingualism both as possible to attain and as enrichment for the individual, and which see the maintenance of minorities as an enrichment for societies rather than as a threat to unity. Quite difference pedagogical consequences follow from this type of analyses
- at the **linguistic** level the type of bilingualism that minority children do in fact develop should be studied. Studies are needed of the kind of communication strategies minority children and youth use in order to be able to cope, with the help of their two languages.

We believe that more os less bilingual minority youngsters, more often than monolinguals, have experienced situations where their communicative competence in L1 or L2 has not been sufficient. They have been forced to use communication strategies in order to manage in problematic communication situations. Therefore **they may have developed more sophisticated communication strategies than monolinguals.** They shou ld be a very rewarding object of study for insigths into communication strategies.

3.1. In recent years, research in **applied linguistics** and **foreign and second language learning** has moved away from the study of languages as systems and products (contrastive analysis of languages in contact, error analyses of grammars, phonology or the lexicon) towards a focus on language users, on types of interaction inside and outside classrooms, on the characteristics of good (or less good) language learners. A primary source of data about difficulties, sequences and processes in language learning is the **interlanguage** of foreign or second language users (Davies et al 1984). Such research is of immediate relevance to language teaching and the formulation and operationalisation of communicative competence goals embracing not only the linguistic system of the target language but also a pragmatic dimension, fluency,

and strategic competence (Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984)

3.2. **Communication strategies** are the problem-solving devices that learners resort to in order to solve what they experience as problems in speech production and reception (Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984,154), or "potentially conscious plans set up by the learner in order to solve problems in communication" (Færch & Kasper 1983,36). Typically they occur when a learner cannot put into words what s/he wants to say, or cannot understand something. Such situations also occur, of course, when speaking one's mother tongue, but limited proficiency in a foreign or second language is more demanding and often excruciating: the important question is how one can get out of linguistic trouble and still achieve one's communicative goals. The communication strategies used in speech production may draw on the speaker´s L1 (eg. literal translation) or on the interlanguage (eg. paraphrase) or may be interactional (eg. an appeal). For detailed typologies, theoretical analyses, and reports of a number of empirical studies see Færch & Kasper 1983.

Some studies are concerned with what happens when there is a communication breakdown or disruption, a characteristic feature of asymmetrical communication between native speakers and learners of the language.

3.3. That the differences between the resources of interlocutors are not merely of a linguistic kind can be seen clearly in **inter-ethnic communication**, for instance between immigrants and representatives of the dominant culture. Both groups, the native speaking gatekeepers and the L2-using minority representatives, can benefit from an increased understanding of linguistic, cultural and strategic aspects of their intercultural communication (Gumperz 1982, Perdue 1982 and the work of the National Centre for Industrial Language Training, Southall, Great Britain).

4.1. Empirical studies of communication strategy use (that

we have been connected with) have led to the following types of conclusions (Haastrup & Phillipson 1983):

- that individual L2 users vary considerably in the range and types of strategy that they resort to,
- that, not surprisingly, L2-based strategies are more likely to lead to communicative success than L1-bases strategies,
- that as communication depends on the reciprocal negotiation of meaning, the type of feedback provided by native speakers to learners has a decisive influence on strategy use.

A natural pedagogical conclusion to draw from these findings is that learners are likely to benefit from being made aware of their own strategy use, and of the communicative potential of different strategies. A follow-up study (Brodersen & Gibson 1982) in which a school class of Danish learners of English were taught about strategies, found that particularly the "weaker" pupils were able to improve their strategic competence and overall confidence in using the foreign language.

4.2. Another study (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1983) began by trying to identify and classify the causes of communication disruptions. From evidence in a wide range of intercultural contexts, it was found that participants may or may not **be aware** that there is a communication disruption. If the participants are aware of it, they may or may not **have the motivation** to try to solve it. If they do have such motivation, they may or may not **be able to locate** the source of the difficulty. The **source** may be exclusively or mainly **linguistic,** or exclusively or mainly **cultural.** If they are able to locate the source, they may or may not **be able to do something** about it. Repair in interaction is influenced by a large number of factors, some **cognitive,** some **affective** and some **behavioural.** Only some of these constituents lend themselves to teaching. In second language contexts, the **teachability** of particularly the affective component is influenced by the stage the learner has reached in the integra-

tion/assimilation process. An adequate theory of intercultural communication should integrate culture-related and language-related dimensions. It seems to us that most of the theory-building to date concentrates on one or the other (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1983, Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1984).

5. The project we are planning now (as part of a large project about educational issues and the Finns in Sweden - Bruun et al 1984) is an in-depth study of 20 Finnish youngsters in Sweden, 10 in Finnish-medium and 10 in Swedish-medium education, in grade 9, in their final year of obligatory schooling (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984b). In the part of the project of interest here, we plan to
- teach them about communication strategies and metacommunicative awareness,
- thereby helping them to observe more closely and to verbalise the strategies they use, and
- ask them to observe, report on (also in diary form), taperecord and analyse together with us communication situations in both languages which they define as problematic.

6.1. Among the methodological problems we face are the following: How should metacommunicative awareness be conceptualized, defined, operationalized and taught? To what extent are components which have to do with ethnic identity and cultural identity relevant? Is degree of metacommunicative awareness correlated with and tied to the degree of general **Selbstbewusstsein** or can it be "taught" separately? What are the ethical implications?

6.2. To what extent is it possible to obtain reliable and valid information about strategies by eliciting this information from informants? There are a variety of types of elicitation: confrontation (Perdue 1982), self-reporting (introspection and retrospection), self-observation and self-revelation (Cohen 1984, Cohen & Hosenfeld 1981), linguists' own diaries (Harris 1984, Rivers 1979), diaries by others

(Rubin 1981, Schumann & Schumann 1977). Many of these have been criticized (eg Seliger 1983). How much of the strategy use is conscious or potentially conscious? Does self-observation and/or verbalisation distort or prevent strategy use? What role is played by rationalisation **after** the event, for instance deduction on the basis of the product of strategy use?

6.3. Studies which look at strategies for good language learning and which could be of help to minority L2-learners with little formal education have suffered from two types of problem:

- Those who have reported on their learning have had the metalanguage and the metacommunicative awareness needed to analyse their own language learning - they have for instance been linguists themselves. It has not been possible to generalise their experience so as to benefit learners with much less formal education. Conclusion: studies should use informants who are like the ones who are to benefit.
- The minority L2-learners with little formal education who **have** been studied have been unable to observe and describe enough about their own learning because of insufficient metalanguage and maybe also insufficient metacommunicative awareness. Besides, researchers have been interested in natural L2-learning and have not wanted to influence this learning, in order to get generalisable data. Thus it has not been possible to get any information on the internal processes of the learning. Researchers have only been able to infer on the basis of the outcomes, the products. Conclusion: studies should use informants who have the metalanguage and the metacommunicative awareness needed to describe the internal learning processes ...

We think that informants who have lived most of their lives in a diglossic multilingual environment are experienced strategy users. We believe that they have, at the age of 15-16 , already developed their strategies so far that helping them to make them conscious and to verbalise them does not make their strategies an artefact, a result of

the teaching/research, though the teaching and their own observations and analyses may make them better and more efficient as strategy users. What arguments are there against (or for) these assumptions?

We should be interested in hearing from anyone with experience in this area. Please send your comments to:

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HOW TO ANALYSE COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson

An essential characteristic of communication between representatives of a dominant culture (for instance Danish civil servants, teachers, policemen and -women and other gatekeepers[1] and representatives of the dominated (for instance the vast majority of non-Danes living in Denmark) is that communication is impeded by differences of language and culture. Studying the difficulties which these may lead to can provide insight into the nature of the communicative competence needed for efficient and fluent communication. As in other disciplines, the study of the "pathological" can shed light on the "normal". It is however obvious that **all** differences of culture and language need not lead to communication difficulties or disruptions. It is likely that disruptions resulting from these differences occur more often in situation **unequal power relations, great distance and a low degree of solidarity between (groups of) speakers.** This is precisely what characterizes much of the communication between Danes and non-Danes as groups. At the individual level, the communication situations are enormously varied, but at a more general level of analysis the starting point, determining much of the outcome, has to be the social conditions in which the communication takes place. This is the general framework within which we focus on the narrower issue of how to analyse the communicative competence needed in different phases in the process of integration.

Monolingual people are mostly only vaguely aware of the detail of the components of their communicative competence. More or less bilingual people, for instance immigrants, are constantly forced to become aware of the gaps in their communicative competence, especially in situations where a communication disruption occurs. We define **communication**

disruption as occuring when mutual comprehension is impaired
- by one or the other of the speakers (learners or native speakers) being manifestly in trouble in understanding an utterance or in putting across what s/he wants to say (cf Haastrup & Phillipson 1983,143), or
- by one or both of the speakers not being able to understand the cultural meaning of a concept or the cultural context of a stretch of discourse (cf Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1983,43).

These operational definitions have been developed in the empirical studies referred to above, particularly in studies of users of English as a foreign language. There are virtually no studies of the communication difficulties of Danes interacting with non-Danes in Danish. For this reason and because of the shortage of space, the paper will concentrate on developing a theoretical framework[2].

Presence of a communication disruption will often be marked by hesitation or non-verbal signals, meaning that the participants may be **aware** that there is a communication disruption. If the participants are aware of the disruption they may or may not have the **motivation** to do something about it. If they have such motivation, they may or may not be **able to locate** the source of the difficulty. If they are able to locate the source, they may or may not be **able to do something** about it. This whole repair process, i.e. having recourse to a communication strategy, is part of communicative competence in its broad sense. Participants' **awareness** is a manifestation of a **metacommunicative or metacultural awareness, motivation** draws on an **affective** component, being **able to locate** draws on a **knowledge** component, and being **able to do something** is part of a **behavioural** component (terms which we define below).

Immigrants are generally at least partially bilingual. Far more often than most Danes, most of them (us) probably encounter situations in their everyday lives in which communication disruptions occur. We therefore believe that many

immigrants have developed an acute awareness of these situations, intricate analyses of them, and more or less successful strategies for trying to resolve them. Insights from such experience may lead to a greater understanding of communication in general, and may be of use for language teaching.

Next we are going to break down communication into some of the components that are needed for the analysis of communication disruptions. The nature of the communication disruption may be exclusively or mostly **linguistic** (a language code problem, for instance not knowing a word or a grammatical form) or it may be exclusively or mostly **cultural** (for instance not knowing whether you can smoke during a meal), or it may involve both linguistic and cultural elements. When trying to solve a communication problem, or when trying to acquire the communicative and cultural competence needed for integration, the participants/immigrants have to know something about **both** language and culture.

The relationship between language and culture and the required comptence in both to be able to communicate efficiently in a new linguistic and cultural environment has not been treated by researchers in such a way as to do justice to both of them. **Applied linguists** do not seem to have tried to make explicit the relationship between **coco** (communicative competence) and **cuco** (cultural competence). Either they have shoved cuco into some sort of residual ragbag along with other unwanted or uncomfortable oddments, or it has been somehow implicit in the socio-part of sociolinguistic competence, and related to textual choice, to markers of politeness - a tiny sub-division of pragmatic competence - or reduced to good or bad manners in knowing when to shut up. Or cuco har been treated as something quite distinct from coco, which the division of many "modern" language departments into "language" and "literature" or "Landeskunde" sections seems to imply.

Cultural anthropologists might on the other hand classify **language** as a tiny sub-division of **culture**, and linguistic or communicative competence as one part of cultural competence, not even always an important part. There has been debate about whether or not a distinctive language is one of the defining criteria for an ethnic group[3]. The interpretation of the relationship which reduces language to almost nothing is also implicit in the educational policy of those countries which pay lip-service to the right of immigrant children to "maintain their culture" without giving them enough support to learn their own languages. The United Kingdom provides a good example of this policy. In Denmark the retention of immigrant cultures has not even reached the point where maintaining the culture is a **right**, let alone the learning of the mother tongue.

We shall briefly discuss both language-related and culture-related competence, and show that both are indispensable for efficient communication and integration. That means that we are not satisfied with the distinction between coco (which until now has almost exclusively meant a language-related competence) and cuco (which may or may not have included language). We would like to promote some kind of an integrated concept, and we believe that it is useless to discuss the integration of immigrants and other minorities without such annified concept of the requirements for communication. Next we define what we mean by language-related and culture-related communicative competence and by integration.

LANGUAGE-RELATED COMPETENCE can be analysed in terms of the following components (Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984):

- **linguistic** competence (vocabulary, grammar, orthography/phonology)
- **pragmatic** competence, the use of linguistic competence for specific purposes or functions, creating coherence in discourse, etc
- **fluency** the ability to activate one's linguistic and pragmatic competence with ease, and

- **strategic** competence, the capacity to solve communication difficulties, to negotiate meaning dispite communication disruptions. A component of rather a different type is **metacommunicative awareness**, knowledge of the structure of language and rules for its use, detailed awareness of the nature and structure of communication situations. Typically this is what we draw on when discussing the meaning of a word or using a reference work; it is what people lack when they use sexist or racist language.

CULTURE-RELATED COMPETENCE can be analysed in terms of the following components (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1983):
- **a cognitive/**intellectual/scholastic/literary component, relating to **knowledge** about the relevant culture (culture covering both the material and the ideological ways in which a group organizes, understands and reproduces its life as a group)
- **an affective/**empathetic/identificational component, relating to deep, positive feelings about and attitudes towards a culture, an understanding of it from the inside, and an identification with it (or parts of it), including acceptance of (most of) its norms and values (or feeling so strongly about them that abandoning them requires a lot of emotional effort)
- **a behavioural** component, the capacity to act in culturally appropriate ways with members of a given cultural group, and
- **metacultural awareness,** an understanding of the distinctiveness and relativity of a particular culture.

This is not the place for a detailed analysis of any of these components or of the inter-relationship between them. We believe, though, that there could be advantages in using this type of framework in such fields as teacher training, the classroom teachability of some of the components identified, the training of Danish gatekeepers who communicate regularly with immigrants, and research design in the study of immigrants' acquisition of Danish.

What we attempt to do here is to consider the phases which characterize assimilation, integration or marginalization vis-a-vis a new culture, the steps which are taken in the gradual process of becoming (or failing to become) communicatively competent in the new culture. One can posit a succession of phases beginning with exclusion or segregation, moving through functional adaptation and acculturation. In this chain, the final stage may be **integration, assimilation** or **marginality**[4]. We shall look at each of these phases in turn, and consider culture-related and language-related competence in relation to each of them.

Segregation (either voluntary or forced, often for socio-economic reasons) is seen as the starting point. When the new immigrant arrives, s/he is **culturally competent** in the original culture, but often does not know the language, institutions or customs of the new country. In this situation, living close to one's countrypeople who have come earlier gives a certain help and security. Table 1 represents this position indicating that the immigrant is fully competent in the original culture (the knowledge, affective and behavioural components) but not at all in the new. The original culture is familiar, the new culture unknown, so that metacultural awareness may be undeveloped, especially with those immigrants who come from a linguistic majority in their country and have never consciously questioned the mainstream cultural values they were taught. This may not be true for immigrants who already in their own country represented a minority, especially if the majority language and culture were forced upon them and if there was a (conscious) tradition of resistance (e.g. Kurds in Turkey, see Bozarslan 1983). In this analysis we do not take into account the normal heterogeneity of **every** culture, which we of course are aware of.

Table 1

POSSIBLE PHASES IN CULTURAL ASSIMILATION/INTEGRATION/MARGINALITY

	ORIGINAL CULTURE				NEW CULTURE			
	know-ledge	affec-tive	beha-viou-ral	metacultu-ral awa-reness	know-ledge	affec-tive	beha-viou-ral	metacultu-ral awa-reness
SEGREGATION	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
FUNCTIONAL ADAPTATION	+	+	+	-	-/+	-	-/+	-/+
ACCULTURATION	+	+	+	-/+	+	-	+	+/-
INTEGRATION	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ASSIMILATION	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+	-/+
MARGINALITY	-/+	-	-/+	-/+	-/+	+	+	-/+
MARGINALITY LATER	-/+	-	-/+	-	-/+	+/-	+/-	-

Language-related competence exactly parallels this position: there is "complete" proficiency in the mother tongue, none in the new language.

When the immigrant starts a **functional adaptation,** learns some of the new language, becomes familiar with some of the most important institutions, sends the children to day care centres and schools, that is the beginning of an **objective external adaptation.** When it proceeds further, the immigrant acquires the instruments needed to be able to function in the new country, to behave adequately superficially, meaning that s/he has acquired some of the cognitive and behavioural components of cultural competence in the new culture, in addition to those of the original culture. But it does **not** mean that the immigrant has changed her or his ethnic identity - s/he still feels like a Turk, Finn, Yugoslav, Pakistani, etc. This functional or "objective" external adaptation thus means that the person has acquired enough of the external instruments of cultural competence in order to be able at the behavioural level to function like a "real" British or Danish person (whatever that may be ...), but all or most of the affective solidarity is still with the old culture.

Successful functional adaptation presupposes a degree of

affective motivation to learn the necessary linguistic elements, words, sounds and sentence patterns. For this motivation to result in successful language learning necessitates a long period of trial and error - whether in a classroom or in a non-threatening environment elsewhere - in which the learner can test out both understanding of and production of the new language. The linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence and fluency needed develop in interaction with a lot of factors, and the outcome depends to a large extent on such variables as the type of interaction with native speakers, type of feedback, degree of metalinguistic awareness.

In this analysis, **acculturation** would be the next step, namely not only a functional adaptation, but also starting to accept some of the norms and value judgements of the new society. When this phase of **subjective internal adaptation** is "completed", there is considerable proficiency, perhaps to near native-speaker level, in the language code and the use of it for relevant purposes. The proficiency is necessarily diglossic, functionally differentiated, so that the immigrant is proficient in those domains, those linguistic and cultural areas to which there has been access in the new country. They may or may not correspond to the areas needed in the country of origin - mostly they do not, which means both that some of the earlier competence of the immigrant is not used, and that new areas of competence have developed, both linguistically and culturally. Different parts of pragmatic and strategic competence are developed. Bilinguals will invariably possess some degreee of metacommunicative awareness at this stage.

After acculturation (which not all immigrants reach) there are several possibilities. It is important to stress that in **integration** the acceptance of the norms and values of the new culture should ideally be **in addition** to the norms and values of the original culture, **not instead** of them. The immigrant would thus be bicultural, and have two

coexisting sets of norms and values. At this stage the immigrant would have the affective component of cultural competence in both cultures. Whereas competing cultural norms may lead to serious division (for instance, in relation to upbringing or family patterns - see Rahbek Pedersen & Skutnabb-Kangas 1983), it is unlikely that the linguistic duplication inherent in bilingualism can be anything other than beneficial (Cummins 1984, Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

Assimilation would be another possible final stage. Assimilation would mean that the immigrant would have accepted the norms and values of the new culture to the extent where that would mean a rejection of the norms and values of the old culture at the level of the affective component. The person would still have the **knowledge** component of the old culture, at least when it comes to everything that constituted that knowledge at the time of moving countries. But s/he would no longer have the **affective** component of cultural competence in the original culture, at least not fully - even if s/he might still be able to **behave** according to the norms of that culture in case that was needed, though there would be an emotional barrier to doing so.

Similarly, the new language would be the dominant language, and for the second and third generation immigrants the only productive language.

A third possible final stage would be the well-known **marginal man or woman**, with less than complete competence in both languages and cultures, especially in relation to the affective and awareness components. The table summarizes this development. Some of the possible negative consequences of forced assimilation for the second generation of immigrant youth could be envisaged as in the Table under "Marginality later". Immigrant youth would have little knowledge of the original culture, and no positive identification with it. They would not be able to follow its behavioural norms, though representatives of the dominant

culture may well place them there, based on superficial attribution from appearance or behaviour. At the same time they would have inadequate in-depth knowledge of the new culture. They might initially want to identify completely with the new culture, and behave accordingly, but as a result of not being accepted, they would become disaffected and behaviourally alienated. They would lack the motivation and the instruments for analysing cultural marginality and as a result their metacultural awareness in relation to both cultures would be low. The struggle of immigrant parents in many countries for mother tongue medium education has as one of its important motive forces a deeply held fear of the prospect of this marginalisation following more or less directly from education through the medium of the majority language, as at present (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

What we have attempted to do is to draw on a number of research traditions and sketch out a theoretically explicit framework within which research into communication and integration could be conducted. There are many urgent needs:
- for research into Danish culture, as it impinges on immigrants, Danish ethnocentrism, institutional and cultural racism (for work on Swedish culture, see Flerkulturell kompetens 1980, Vad är svensk kultur? 1981, Kulturmöte konflikt eller samarbete 1982, Lundberg & Eriksson 1983; and for analysis of racism in education see the work of Chris Mullard)
- research into Danish attitudes to language learning, for instance the dogma that Danish is a "difficult" language, or the danger of assuming that immigrant language learning should closely parallel the foreign language teaching tradition in Danish education, with its focus on correctness and goals which are not easily attainable (which may account for the Danish authorities not regarding bilingualism as a realistic goal for immigrants)
- research into the steps or sequences involved in acquiring linguistic and pragmatic competence and fluency in Danish as a second language (for work focussing on some of these aspects of communicative competence learning see Klein and

Dittmar 1979, Færch and Kasper 1983, Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson 1984)
- training for gatekeepers so as to raise their metacommunicative awareness (language- and culture-related) and to equip them to be supportive in inter-ethnic communication situations: British experience in anti-racist and language awareness courses for native speakers in industry and administration can be drawn on[5], as can efforts to regard ethnic and linguistic diversity in the classroom as positive resources (Twitchin and Demuth 1981, Hawkins 1984)
- experimental work in the teaching of various aspects of metacommunicative competence (language- and culture-related) to immigrant children and young people, so as to help them observe, verbalize and monitor the strategies they use when coping with problematic communication situations (Bruun et al 1984).

There exists a fund of experience in many of these areas of activity, and the references contain descriptions of procedures to follow in order to carry out empirical work, as well as theories of considerable elaboration. There are many ways of coming to grips with the analysis of communicative competence in the integration process.

To close then where we began. Communication is not only about language. When people communicate they do not use language as their (sole) instrument. They communicate themselves as cultural beings. Communication is a process of negotiation - requiring mutuality. Immigrants need a full language-related and culture-related competence in **both** languages and cultures. But no amount of competence on their side helps, if the other party is not willing, does not know how, or lacks experience. For integration to occur, the power relations have to be changed, the distance between the groups has to be narrowed, and there must be a greater degree of solidarity between immigrants and the dominant majority.

Notes

1. See Erickson 1975.
2. For a description of a study of language acquisition by adult immigrants in several European countries see Perdue 1982. Provisional results from this project were presented at the Fourth Nordic Conference on Bilingualism, Uppsala, June 1984, and at the Seventh World Congress of the International Applied Linguistics Association (AILA), Brussels, August 1984.
   The work is partly inspired by studies of inter-ethnic communication difficulties, see Gumperz 1982a and the contributions to Gumperz 1982b and to Richards and Schmidt 1983.
3. See Paulston 1982 and Smolicz 1979.
4. For complementary ways of dicussing integration see Ålund and Schierup 1983, Westin 1973, and Lange and Westin 1981.
5. In particular the work of the National Centre for Industrial Language Training, Havelock Campus, Havelock Road, Southall, Middlesex UB24NZ, Great Britain.

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WHO WANTS TO CHANGE WHAT AND WHY - CONFLICTING PARADIGMS IN MINORITY EDUCATION RESEARCH[1]

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

INTRODUCTION

Research is the new god in many secularised Western countries. Many of these countries claim that educational decisions are guided by or based on research results. With the computerized flow of information the same research results are or could be accessible in most Western countries. Still there are conflicting interpretations of the same results. Both researchers themselves and politicians/administrators can come to diametrically opposing conclusions on the basis of the same research results.

This state of affairs is not unique to research into minority education, but in this field the debates and the constant struggle have been more emotional and fierce than in many other educational fields. Both in Sweden and in the USA there have been major controversies over the last decade. If the debates were only squirmishes inside the academic community, like many research debates are, they might not be of any interest outside Academia. But as one might expect in a field of considerable practical-political importance, arguments from the research debates have been used to support or counteract differing positions and views in the implementation of educational decisions also.

The two sides in these debates can roughly be characterized as **proponents** (herafter PROPS) and **opponents** (OPS) **of mother tongue medium (MTM) maintenance education for minority (MI) children.** The **practical recommendations** made by PROPS and OPS are different. Both parties claim that their recommendations are **based on research.** Both present research results to support their claims. **None accepts the research evidence**

presented by the other party, but for different reasons. The positions of the two sides seem to be immovable - there is no real dialogue. It seems that the parties are speaking completely different languages: they do not seem to share even the most elementary views on what research is all about and how it should be conducted. OPS seem to be more monolingual than PROPS, ie less able to understand what the other party says. The debates seem very similar across countries, and therefore it is instructive to compare them.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse some of the controversies in terms of several background factors, most importantly **different research paradigms.** The paper presupposes that some of the controversial views, presented in several reports and articles, are well known[2] and only short summaries will be presented here. The paper starts by discussing the role of the minority mother tongues in the recommendations by OPS and PROPS, seen in relation to official policy toward the minorities, and shows that there is little difference in the official assimilationist goals in Sweden and the USA, despite superficial dissimilarity in the rhetoric. But while US PROPS are forced to use a defensive argumentation for MTM education (showing that it leads to better proficiency in the majority language) Scandinavian PROPS can use a more offensive argumentation, speaking of MTM educations as a basic lingistic human right. Next some of the reasons for rejecting the research evidence of the other party are presented and discussed. This leads to an examination of the group membership of OPS and PROPS, of the types of question each asks, and of their openness about their own biasses. The OPS are shown to use more deficit-based explanations for minority children's problems at school, while the PROPS are moving towards enrichment-based explanations and demands. OPS blame the minority child, while PROPS want to change the schools and the societies. Finally, it is shown that most of the controversies which are made to look like controversies about acceptable scientific methods can be deduced from OPS and PROPS follow-

ing different philosophy of science paradigms and having different world views. The conclusion is that methodological controversies cannot be analyzed in a vacuum - methods must be seen as integral parts of philosophical and political ideologies, if we want to understand the debates in minority education.

THE ROLE OF THE MINORITY MOTHER TONGUE

The **practical recommendations** of the two sides (which both claim follow from research evidence) are very different. Table 1 summarizes them:

Table 1

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OPS AND PROPS FOR MINORITY EDUCATION

	PROPS	OPS
medium of education	-MiL-medium at least during the first 6 years, ideally longer	-most or all MaL-medium
role of the other language	-MaL as a second language troughout schooling	-MiL may be used (if at all) orally for necessary explanations, or even as a medium part of the time initially
transition	-late or no transition to MaL-medium education	-as fast a transition to MaL-medium education as possible
criteria for efficient programmes	-promote both languages in addition to affective and social factors; never evaluated in terms of test results only	-promote MaL-proficiency, even when they lead to poor proficiency in MiL; test results the only reliable results
goal	-high levels of bilingualism	-high levels of proficiency in MaL

MiL = minority language MaL = majority language

Since it is claimed that decisions on minority education are based on research results, the practical redommendations have to be backed up by research. Often major debates have

been triggered off by the publication of a summary of current research, ordered by the government or the Ministry of Education, or a government report which draws heavily on research (eg the Baker & de Kanter report 1981 in the USA, or the Bratt Paulston report (ordered by the Swedish National Board of Education) 1982 and the Ulvhammar report (a governmental report by the Commission on Migrant Languages and Cultural Heritages in School and Adult Education, 1983, in Sweden). In all these reports the assimilationist goals are evident at different levels, as will be shown in the next section. If governments want assimilation for the minorities, they obviously support both financially and otherwise research which tries to show that measures leading to assimilation are good for the minority child and for society as a whole. Research is not conducted in a sociocultural or political vacuum, out of a pure academic interest. Somebody pays for research and not out of charity. Those who pay want to get a return on their investment, so they also determine what has to be done. The steering of research can be more or less direct or discreet. It seems to be more direct in the USA and more discreet in Sweden, but the results of the steering are equally visible. In the following sections we examine the roles of the MiL and MaL in some of the reports and in the writings of the OPS and PROPS in the USA and Sweden in relation to the extent to which they support linguistic assimilation.

The concentration on the majority language and the active denigration of the mother tongue are more brutal and blatant in the US than in Sweden, and more openly assimilationist terms are used. Baker and de Kanter put it like this (1982a, 5):

" ... the basic Federal policy concerns ... recognize the need to prepare language-minority children to function successfully **in an English-speaking nation.** A programme that produces mediocre English performance while maintaining the home language skills will be judged a worse program than one

that produces better second language performance while **ignoring home language skills.** The justification for this viewpoint it that in the United States any successful education program must prepare the students to **participate in an English-speaking society.** Therefore, **the overriding concern in evaluating** instruction for bilingual students is **how well they learn English**" (my emphases)

The **goal** is thus **high levels of proficiency in the majority language.** To achieve this, something they call "structured immersion"[3], "shows promise" and should get more attention (Baker & de Kanter 1982a, 24). Structured immersion amounts to the old submersion[4], except the teachers should try harder to adapt the language of instruction, which is English only, to the students' level. It is also symptomatic that the Baker & de Kanter reports **do not even mention mother tongue medium maintenance programmes as a possibility,** not even in their large research summary which is supposed to cover most of the research evidence in the world about education for language minority students. There is thus no possibility to counteract the assimilationist policy by suggesting alternative measures because all the programmes for minority children accepted to be examined in the reports are assimilationist. It is just a question of choosing the "best" way for minority children to be assimilated. This is in marked contrast with Sweden, where the policy does **not** officially advocate assimilation.

When the Swedish parliament proclaimed its immigrant and minority policy goals, **equality, freedom of choice and partnership,** in 1975 (Prop. 1975:26), it also decreed that Swedish society has a responsibility to **promote and stimulate active bilingualism** among immigrant and minority children. **All national unions for immigrant organizations in every Scandinavian country unanimously want mother tongue medium maintenance educations to achieve the goal of active bilingualism.** There is thus no possibility in democratic Sweden to deny the importance of minority mother tongues

officially. We (= the minority organisations) have been able to force Sweden (but not Denmark or Norway) to organize MT medium education for a small fraction of the minorities. But there is constant struggle around these MT medium classes. And even if the authorities have been forced to concede more and more, there is vocal opposition among many administrators and their researchers.

The responsibility of the school in promoting bilingualism was recently formulated by Birgitta Ulvhammar, the former General Director of the Swedish National Board of Education, in a report by the Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in School and Adult Education (SKU), in a way which is typical for the soft and diplomatic Swedish educational minority policy:

"To summarize, SKU considers that active bilingualism in the teaching should mean that pupils with a home language other than Swedish should acquire **basic knowledge** so as to attain functional bilingualism. By functional bilingualism SKU understands the capacity to **understand** two languages and in speech and writing to **live and operate** in two cultures. This means being able to **make use of** both languages in **various situations** where they are **required** and **desired,** with a **natural functional differentiation** between the languages" (SKU 1983:57, 220, my translation and emphases).

Compared to the US federal policy this sounds pluralistic. The report also contains passages about the importance of multicultural and intercultural education for all, about respect for all cultures etc. But when the practical suggestions come, they resemble the American suggestions much more than one could expect from the divergent principal declarations of goals. Even if transitional bilingual educations is grudgingly accepted, learning the mother tongue is still not a **right** for minority children.

The pluralistic official policies in Sweden may to a large

extent be the empty phrases of well-meaning bureaucrats. This might explain why the action they lead to does not necessarily differ much from more directly assimilationist policies. The official policy in Sweden is just more subtle in both promoting and achieving its assimilationist goals.

Sometimes it comes through in as racist a way as in the US. It is to me amazing that the US can be called "an English-speaking nation" (see Baker & de Kanter above) when one knows that over 30 million people have other mother tongues. But the Swedish Minister for Immigrant Affairs, Anita Gradin, in pluralistic and multilingual/multicultural Sweden said in January 1984 (Stockholmstidningen 29.1.1984): "Sweden is Swedish. Sweden can never become bilingual. Swedish is the common language of all of us." When one recalls **that** at one point a third of Stockholm's inhabitants were Germans, **that** there have always been Sámi- and Finnish-speaking indigenous minorities in Sweden, **that** Finnish was to a large extent used as a lingua franca in the Northern Calotte region (Aikio 1984) and **that** one Swede in 8 has at least one parent who immigrated to Sweden, the Minister's claims look peculiar. They reveal more about Swedish attitudes of forced assimilation than reality. And when one goes back to the declarations of the Swedish parliamentary report, it is easy to notice that its formulations are at best ambiguous and allow for very different interpretations, some of which are as assimilationist and as degrading vis-a-vis the minority MTs as the formulations of the OPS in the US. What is meant by "basic knowledge" in L1 - it could be 200 words or age-appropriate native competence? "Required" and "desired" by whom? Swedish society certainly does not require or even desire the minority children's mother tongue for anything, and the minority organisations' requirements and desires about more MT-education and use are at present **not** being met. Is a "natural functional differentiation" one where L1 is only used at home and has no rights outside, where everything official quite "naturally" takes place in Swedish? Etc etc.

And when we go from government reports to the formulations by

administrations researchers, many of the pluralistic phrases disappear in the writings of the Swedish **OPS**. Christina Bratt Paulston (who in other contexts has come with more **PROPS**-oriented opinions) advocates in a report written on the request of the Swedish National Board of Education that "migrant children... by being allowed to assimilate and incorporate ... will with time become good Swedes" (1982, 65). The transitional and minor role accorded to the minority MTs and the dominant role for the MaL which resembles the US **OPS** attitudes, come blatantly through in the writings of Lars Henric Ekstrand, one of the most eager Swedish **OPS**. He thinks that balanced bilingualism is "impossible" (1978a, 8), "demands too much work from the individual" (1979), that "the instruction should aim at bilingualism with Swedish as the dominant language" (1979), that "the sooner the switch (from L1 to L2) is made, the better are the prospects of the second language becoming the best" (1978c, 72) and that "for some immigrant children, the optimum (in L1) might well be to keep the level a bit above the risk level for complete decay" (1978b, 11).

From the OPS views on the role of both languages we move on to examine what roles the PROPS would like to accord to them. The **proponents** of mother tongue medium maintenance education for minorities want L1 to be the main medium of education, with the MaL as a second language, at least during the first 6 years, but preferably for longer. There is often no theoretical need to make a transition to MaL medium at all. The **OPS** claim that students in mainly L1-medium classes do not learn L2, buth this is explicitly counteracted by the **PROPs**. For instance Cummins (1983, 76) claims that there are few constraints in terms of the amount of instructional time devoted to the heritage language (a Canadian term for minority mother tongues) nor in terms of the duration of the programme, when the outcome of the programmes is assessed in terms of student achievement in the MaL. He shows that programmes which last from K (= Kindergarten) to the 12th grade with 50-80% of the instruction

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through L1, give good results in L2, English. In addition, they lead to good results in L1. It is appreciated by the **PROPS** that learning L2 to a native or near-native level takes a long time. The children in programme evaluations are not expected to reach native L2-proficiency during the first few years of MT medium education. This makes all evaluations of L2-proficiency during the first few years, at least up to grades 4-5, invalid as measures of the efficiency of MTM-programmes vis-a-vis L2. But the **PROPS** are certain about good results in both languages at a later stage, towards the end of obligatory education, when the transfer effect from having been able to develop the common underlying proficiency for both languages starts to show (Cummins 1980). This is of course also borne out by the results of the education given to powerful indigenous minorities, like the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, for whom MTM education throughout the educational system has always been self-evident (Allardt 1984, Knubb-Manninen 1982, 1983), or to those immigrant children in Sweden who have had most of their education through the medium of their L1, for instance Finnish children in Botkyrka and Upplands Väsby (Skutnabb-Kangas, forthcoming).

For both North American and Scandinavian **PROPS high levels of bilingualism is the goal.**The North American **PROPS** are forced to use a **defensive** strategy in their argumentation. They have to stress that MTM education leads to results in L2 which are as good as or mostly better (as Cummins argues above) than the L2 proficiency reached in other types of education. They are in other words forced to argue on the terms of those who think that results in L2 are the only important results. We Scandinavian **PROPS** use a more **offensive** strategy in arguing for MTM education. Even if we also think L2-proficiency is of the utmost importance, we regard the higher proficiency in L2 reach by MTM education as a positive biproduct, not as the main reason for MTM education. We claim that mother tongue medium education is also a **basic linguistic human right** for a child:

"The declaration of a child's linguistic human rights:

- Every child should have the right to positively identify with the mother tongue(s) and have her identification accepted by others
- Every child should have the right to learn the mother tongue(s) fully
- Every child should have the right to choose when s/he wants to use the mother tongue(s) in all official situations" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a, 40).

Mother tongue is in this declarations defined in terms of origins. It is the language first learned, as opposed to "best known" (definition of competence), "most used" (definition of function) or "identified with" (definition of identification) (on definitions of mother tongue and bilingualism see the chapters on definitions in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984b). The declaration also includes the situation where a child in a bilingual family has **two** mother tongues.

In addition, affective and social results are stressed by Scandinavian (and also US) **PROPS**, while the **OPS** either do not mention them at all, or explicityly deny their importance, for instance claiming that emotional factors show no correlation with language learning, like Ekstrand does.

Thus, **OPS** stress proficiency in the majority language as the most important outcome, and evaluate programmes in terms of test results in MaL mainly. The **PROPS** stress both bilingualism and affective and social outcomes.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE REJECTED

Both parties claim that their practical recommendations are **based on research.** None, however, accepts the research evidence presented by the other, but for different reasons. In this section we will examine the reasons given by both parties for not accepting the evidence presented by the other party.

The **PROPS** have two main reasons for not accepting the evidence and arguments presented by the **OPS** against MTM education. One is that the **OPS** only address themselves to a tiny fraction of the issues which are relevant for educational outcomes, and ask the wrong questions in evaluating different programmes. The second is that they make untenable generalisations.

The **PROPS** claim that the **OPS** do laboratory-like research where only a few cognitive and linguistic outcomes are measured but where neither social nor affective outcomes are described or evaluated. They focus on the majority language only and disregard the mother tongue. This "narrow emphasis on English-only learning - - - is culturally genocidal and socially destructive", according to the **PROPS** (Hernández-Chávez, Llanes, Alvarez & Arvizu 1981, 11). The **OPS** use test results only in their evaluation of the efficiency of bilingual programmes. The test results are chosen according to what **OPS** call "standard methodological criteria" (Baker & de Kanter 1981, 5) without mentioning (or maybe even knowing) whose standards are being followed (ie without knowing that there are other equally valid methods - many **OPS** seem to live in a world where (they think) there is **one** method only). And only those test results are chosen which suit the argument, as Hernández-Chávez et al show has been done by Baker & de Kanter. This is comfortable because it allows **OPS** to "dismiss contradictory data with claims upon the canons of quantitative methodology" as Christina Bratt Paulston claims that Ekstrand does, (1981, 29), when he is "defending his own view of the world ... (H)e sees issues of research methodology as the best defense. It is convenient in that it assures that any data, not of his choosing, is not acceptable" (ibid., 29).

The **PROPS** claim that it is impossible to understand or evaluate bilingual education properly without also discussing the political and philosophical arguments and the whole societal context of it (Hernández-Chávez et al 1981,

Skutnabb-Kangas 1984b). The **PROPS** also claim that many of the positive effects of MTM education cannot yet be tested with the help of quantitative measures, in the way positivists demand - the methods are still too crude. But qualitative data shold not be dismissed just because we do not yet have reliable ways of measuring them. Accepting quantitative data only distroys the picture and prevents us from finding the "truth". What **OPS** do when accepting quantitative data only because it is easy to get, is, according to **PROPS**, like looking for a lost coin under the street light where it is easier to look rather than looking in the darker place where it was lost.

Secondly, the **OPS** also make inappropriate generalisations, incorrectly assuming validity for findings which come from different contexts.
Some of these generalise

- from **majority children** to **minority children** (Ekstrand, Baker & de Kanter)
- from **foreign language learning** to **second language learning** (Ekstrand, Baker & de Kanter)
- from **additive** to **subtractive L2-learning situations**, ie from **immersion** to **submersion** (Ekstrand, Baker & de Kanter)
- from **learning a foreign language at school** to **learning a minority MT** (Ekstrand)
- from **the situation of elite bilinguals** (e.g. children of linguists etc) to **the situation of working class minority children** (Ekstrand, Oksaar)
- from **transitional bilingual education** to **mother tongue medium maintenance education** (Baker & de Kanter, Ekstrand)

All these distinctions are according to the **PROPS** necessary. The **PROPS**, in summary, claim that the **OPS** do insufficient and biassed research, while pretending to be objective. Some of the **OPS** research is psychometrically sound, but it is to a large extent irrelevant for the education of minority children because it asks the wrong questions.

The **OPS** also have two main reasons for not accepting **PROPS**

evidence and arguments. They claim that the **PROPS** base their recommendations on poor quality research which does not satisfy "standard methodological criteria" (ie positivistic criteria on quantitative data). Secondly, they claim that the **PROPS** are not objective because they are committed in what they are doing. They are accused by the **OPS** of doing emotional political propaganda under the guise of research.

The strategies used by some **OPS** to try to show that the **PROPS** do poor research are sometimes both sad and amusing. Baker/de Kanter reject Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa study (1976) partly on the grounds of claiming that there is a severe attrition of data, with "almost 80% of the data missing" (1982a, 16) and are worried because "the authors give no consideration to this problem" (ibid.). The key analysis in the English language report is based on only 150 students, while the whole study covers 687 students. Obviously Baker & de Kanter like many other speakers of "languages of wider communication" have difficulties in imagining that results about the education of minority children published in minority languages (in this case Finnish and Swedish) really do exist ... Something to be remembered for us minority language speakers: if we do not publish in English, maybe we do not exist either, just like the "missing data". A new, exciting existential dilemma ...

The following table lists some of the characterisations some **OPS** use when describing their own work and that of some **PROPS** (the list with the explanations and references comes from Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, the **OPS** here are Lars Henric Ekstrand and Sven Õhman, while the **PROPS** are Hanson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa).

Table 2

OPS characterize themselves	OPS' characterizations of PROPS
-a pluralistic approach	-an extreme mother tongue ideology
-all serious researchers	-whoever can make people believe that he or she is a researcher (and the definition of this concept seems to become ever wider each year)
-competent researchers	
-in my capacity as a university professor and linguist	-if these "revelations" are delivered by "researchers" interest is especially great
-an academically minded researcher	-contributions on a very low level of competence
-the more securely tenured wing of researchers who can afford a greater dose of moderation and reflection	-"chock reports"...which were very soon identified by competent researchers as extraordinarily poorly grounded purely empirically and based on a very crude and unsophisticated linguistic theory
-science in a more intellectual sense	-some contributions in the immigration and assimilation debate have had the character of political agitation disguised as assumed science
-this kind of analysis is much more laborious and time-consuming	-the more agitational "research reports"
-scientifically qualified studies	-has a clear political agitation goal
-how language should be properly studied	-the question of whether these "research results" serve a definite political function
	-the agitation is done so to say in the name of science, ie where the speaker gives himself/herself the appearance of being a researcher
	-a habit of speaking in the name of science
	-has burning pathos for her/his cause
	-plays ... to full house

It is almost embarrassing to point out that some of the **OPS** also sometimes come with unsupported claims or claims which the existing evidence counteracts (for instance Bratt Paulston and Edwards) or use sheer lies (Ekstrand)[5]. Even if one does not agree with another researcher, it should be possible to give an honest presentation of her or his results and claims.

The **OPS** claim as the list also shows that the **PROPS** let themselves be guided by research-external ideologies when interpreting data. This is of course both true and unavoidable. But the troubling factor is that the **OPS** themselves claim to be immune to such influences, which is of course sheer rubbish, as even the strongest proponents of hard-core positivism in the philosophy of science now admit. It becomes difficult for our **OPS** to analyse their own biasses and expose them to open criticism (like most **PROPS** do) if they firmly and incorrectly believe that they have not got any biasses. This leads us to the next phase: examining the biasses of each side.

ON WHOSE SIDE IS THE RESEARCHER?

Many of the reasons why **OPS** do not accept the evidence presented by the **PROPS** have been phrased in terms of methodology, **how** research should be done. But **how** is subsumed under broader questions in the steering of research. When the steering is done by financial means, so that some research gets funded while other types of research do not get funded, **what** and **who** questions are asked before **how** questions. **What** research gets done, ie what kind of research questions are asked? **Who** does the research?

The researcher's own group membership is important. In 1981 we founded a Nordic Association of Immigrant and Minority researchers. One of the association's aims is to support research done by us minority members ourselves to study

questions posed by the minorities, and to do it from a minority perspective. We feel that this is an important addition to the research done, paid for and controlled by the majority representatives, expecially by those who want us to assimilate. Robert Petersen, himself Inuit, the leader of Inuit Insitute in Nuuk, Greenland, former professor of Eskimology in Copenhagen talks in several of his papers about the need for minorities to develop alternative expertise of their own (also instead of the well-meaning "alternative cultural imperialists", for instance all the ESL and EFL-experts in Third World countries, selling the English language - see Pattanayak 1985 and Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1985). Without wanting to question the good will, the attempts for objectivity or the attempts to understand which majority members exhibit, Robert Petersen claims that it is impossible in certain situations for a majority group member to be objective or to pose the right questions about the minority group, especially in conflict situations. And the education of minority children has always been a situation with potential conflicts. According to Petersen, minorities must to a much greater extent take care of their own research and develop it so that they ask questions, develop concepts and define reality from the minority's own point of view. Then the minority does not need to use majority experts as its own experts, a common situation now. And a prerequisite for equal cooperation where none of the parties dictates the rules is that both parties have their own experts, both are allowed to define themselves, and both can get their own definition of their reality accepted by the other party (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 34). If we want to have research which starts from the needs and the definitions of reality that the minorities themselves have, then we must do that research ourselves.

Majority researchers can of course do good research both on the minorities and about questions important for the minorities also. But majority researchers do not do the same type of research into minority questions as the minority

members themselves, according to a study by Markku Peura and Taisto Hujanen (1983).

It seems to me that in both Scandinavia and the US many (but not all) PROPS come from the minority groups themselves. Many of the PROPS **ask research questions which are important from the minorities' own point of view,** and **are also active in supporting the minority organizations in their fight to try to achieve equity and justice.** This necessarily means that many of the PROPS also include among the criteria for efficient programmes that these should help the minority to achieve equity. They are **openly on the minority's side,** and expose their value judgements to open criticism. They define the future of the minority in terms of a clear wish for the minority itself to be able to decide to what extent it wants to continue its existence as a minority. And since it is decisive for most minorities to keep and develop their own languages (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1979 for language as a cultural core value) and since this presupposes that the language is given a wide range of meaningful functions, they also see it as natural to promote educational programmes which develop the minority language and political programmes which want to assure the minority language at least a semiofficial status.

By contrast, many of the OPS (but not all) come from the majority groups. Often they do not even know the language of the minority they are studying. They **ask research questions which are important for the majority society and its administrators** (ie for the ones who pay them) **for controlling the minorities.** But instead of admitting this many of the OPS **claim to be neutral,** on nobody's side. Usually they do not cooperate with the minority organizations (even if they may cooperate with individual minority members). Instead they cooperate with the administrators. And since most administrators either officially (USA) or at least unofficially (Sweden) support assimilation (which they suppose is both possible and less devisive for the nation than facilitating the establishment of permanent minorities), this is

reflected in the research goals of the administration researchers, the OPS, too. And as has been said earlier, if the administrators want assimilation for the minorities, they support (both financially and otherwise) research which shows that measures leading to assimilation are "good" for both the individual child and the minority group. That also leads to the attitude which these opponents have toward the two languages: since assimilation is seen as the inevitable and desirable end goal, the focus in evaluating programmes is on the majority language. The minority language which is supposed to disappear in the course of a few generations anyway should be privatized: stay inside the family, and not get much attention (for instance Bullivant 1984, Edwards 1984b).

DIFFERENT PROBLEM DEFINITIONS

Within these competing frameworks the PROPS and OPS also **define the problems which minority children have at school** in completely different ways. A useful typology here is one I have assembled and modified from different tables in Stacy Churchill's report for OECD on minority education (1983, forthcoming), table 3.

The first four phases in the typology (which can be seen as forming a historical development on which different countries can be placed) build on **deficiency-related explanations** for difficulties minority children have at school: there is **someting wrong with the child or her group,** and this causes the problems. In all the deficiency phases the societal goal for the minority is assimilation. In the first two phases the assimilation should ideally be as fast as possible. In the last two the minority language is supposed (and allowed) to be used inside the family for some generations. The measures taken at the different stages correspond to the specific deficiency the child is supposed to suffer from and they try to **compensate** for the deficiency:

Table 3

REASON FOR PROBLEMS	MEASURE	GOAL
D E F I C I T T H E O R I E S		
1 **linguistic L2-related handicap, learning deficit** (the child does not master L2 well enough)	**more teaching of MaL** (auxiliary teaching, ESL, introductory classes etc); **compensatory**	**MI is to become MaL-speaking as fast as possible**
2 **social handicap, socially linked learning deficit** (the child's parents come from lowest social classes)	**more social and pedagogical help** (aids, tutors, psychologists, social workers, career advisors etc); in addition to measure 1; **compensatory**	**same as 1**
3 **cultural handicap, culturally linked learning deficit** (the child has a "different" cultural background; the child has low self-confidence; the child is discriminated against)	**inform** MI-children **about** MA-**culture**/ about their own culture; inform all children about MI-cultures/start multicultural/intercultural educational programmes; eliminate discrimination/ racism in teaching materials;attitudinal courses for teachers; in addition to measures 1-2; **compensatory**	**MiL in the family 1-2 generations;** MI-children need help to appreciate MI-culture (until they become MaL-speaking)
4 **linguistic L1-related handicap, learning deficit because of L1 deprivation** (the child does not know her own L properly and has therefore poor grounding for the learning of L2 **CALP**) (the child loses content while learning L2)	**teaching of L1 as subject; elementary education through the medium of L1 with as fast a transition to L2-medium as possible.** MiL has no intrinsic value,it is therapeutic, **compensatory** (more self confidence, better cooperation with home, gives better basis for MaL-learning, functions as bridge for transmission of content during L2-learning); in addition to measures 1-3	same as 3
E N R I C H M E N T T H E O R I E S		
5 **high levels of bilingualism beneficial for the individual but difficult to attain,** demands much work and energy. The primary goal is to learn MaL properly; it is a prerequisite for equal opportunity	**teaching through the medium of MiL for several years inside MA-school; obligatory teaching of MaL; transition to MaL-medium teaching after elementary education**	**MiL is allowed to be maintained for private use;** bilingualism necessary; **MiL is allowed to exist** (in a diglossic situation)as long as demographic basis exists
6 **bilingualism enhances development.** If problems arise, the causes are similar to those of monolingual children; some problems may be caused by racism/discrimination	**separate, equal school systems for MI and MA children, L1 is medium for both and L2 obligatory (or possible to study) for both.** Positive discrimination of the Ml economically (smaller units allowed)	**existence of minorities is enriching for the whole society. MiL has (at least some) official status and its use is encouraged also for MaL-children**

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- if the main problem is defined as lacking proficiency in the majority language, an **L2 handicap**, then the measures consist of compensatory L2-teaching, for instance all the English as a second language programmes,
- if the problem is defined as a **social handicap** (= the child has working class parents), different types of special education and guidance is used,
- if the problem is defined as a **cultural handicap** where the minority child's cultural background is "different", where the child has low levels of self-confidence, or where it may even be admitted that the child is discriminated against by majority children, the measures consist of informing the minority child about the majority culture; about the child's own culture (Black studies, ethnic studies etc); informaing **all** children about minority cultures; so-called multicultural and intercultural education. Teaching materials are examined for racist stereotypes, teacher attitudes are scrutinized,
- if the problem is defined as an **L1 handicap mother tonge deprivation** and therefore also a poor basis for developing proficiency in the intellectually more demanding academic aspects of L2, teaching in the mother tongue is introduced, and in a later phase also transitional bilingual education. It is important to note, though, that even TBE still builds on a deficiency hypothesis: the mother tongue is only accorded instrumental value in that it is used only so as to prevent a cognitive lag vis-a-vis subject matter while L2 is being learned, or to support L2 development. It is **not** used because of its intrinsic value, or because it would be considered a human right for every child to learn her mother tongue fully. These arguments come only in the last two phases, which look at bilingualism as an enrichment, firstly for the individual concerned and secondly for the whole society.

Most OPS seem to hold views which correspond to the first three deficiency phases, while most PROPS start off with the last deficiency stage, mother tongue deprivation, and

move on to seeing bilingualism as a possible enrichment, and to seeing mother tongue medium education as a natural right of a child, and as a good way of achieving high levels of bilingualism. Policy and practice in this field seem to have evolved with varying speed and with varying focus in different countries.

One of the central factors seems to be what most strikingly distinguishes the majority and the largest minority groups. The Swedish discussions centred from the very beginning around the language deficits, partly because the main difference between the Swedes and the largest minority group, us Finns, is linguistic and not so much cultural or social. Many of the large minority groups in the UK were speakers of English or English-based creoles, and the proportion of middle class people among the minorities was considerably higher than in Sweden, West Germany or France. Therefore it is understandable that British discussions have focussed on cultural differences, and explanations based on cultural "deficits". Despite large cultural differences between West Germans and the largest minority group, the Turks, the focus has been on explanations stressing the social handicap of the Turks. But the most important factor determining how far different countries have come in their policy development is the power status that the minority has. It is, therefore, logical that for instance the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, a former power-majority representing the former colonizers, reached the final stage long ago: we have our own Swedish-medium day care centres, schools, universities etc, and it is accepted that the existence of the Swedish-speaking minority is an enrichment for the whole country. Even so, there are every now and then debates where some Finnish-speakers question the right of the Swedish-speakers to the status and constitutional rights which we have. Likewise it is understandable that the Finnish-speaking mainly immigrant minority in Sweden, which seems to me to be the best organized and best legally protected labour migrant minority in

the world just now, has moved at least to the fifth stage in its own consciousness development, and has almost succeeded in forcing the official Swedish policy to make the move from 4 (and 3 which the government report - see SOU 1983 - tried to introduce as the new big thing) to 5 also. It is also predictable that the minorities in the USA have not as yet succeeded in pushing the official policy much beyond the first stage, even if there are many separate measures belonging to the 2nd, 3rd and even 4th stages too. It also seems to me that the relative number of OPS is larger in USA then in Europe. If the minorities in the US were united and strong, they could obviously make all the changes they wanted immediately. The question then is if they want a change, and in case they do, what they want to change. Here the differences between the **PROPS** and the **OPS** in conceptualising the reasons for the problems which minority children experience at school seem to me to reflect a more general theorizing about what should be changed when some children do not get much out of schools. The issue of working or lower class children in the middle class school and different solutions proposed show many parallels with solutions proposed for minority children.

WHO WANTS TO CHANGE WHAT?

We know from many studies that "the educational and cultural system is an exceptionally important element in the maintenance of existing relations of domination and exploitation" (Apple 1980). We also acknowledge "the important role schools - and the overt and covert knowledge within them - play in reproducing a stratified social order that remains strikingly unequal by class, gender and race" (Apple 1980). The different phases in the development of problem definitions can also be looked upon as indicators of **how much each of them blames (and wants to change) the child** (and her parents, her group and its culture) **or the school.** If one only wants to change the child to fit the school, then one at

least implicitly accepts the role of the school in maintaining and reproducing inequality and exploitation. If one also wants to change the school, it might mean some kind of protest against the existing stratified social order. It seems that the OPS want to change the child, while the PROPS want to change the majority middle class school, so as to make it a better fitted place for the minority child. But if one does not go further than to try to change the school so that minority children get a fairer opportunity to cope and achieve, the next problem arises. In an American book called "Whe gets ahead?" (1979) Jencks et al "document the fact that not only are economic returns from schooling twice as great for individuals who are economically advantaged to begin with, but for, say, black students, even finishing high school will probably not bring any significant benefits. Thus, even if we could alter the school to equalize achievement, the evidence suggests that it might not make a significant difference in the larger framework in which schools exist" (Apple 1980).

A pessimistic diagnosis might be that minority children do not get as much out of schools as majority children do, and even if they did (for instance by participating in mother tongue medium maintenance education when the school has changed) it might not help them to get good jobs anyway, as long as our societies are the way they are. Three possible conclusions seem to offer themselves:

Apathy: why bother, since one cannot change anything anyway?
Radical pessimism: as long as the society is the way it is, it is no use trying to do anything with the schools. Instead, try to change the society, and after that the schools will change. While you do that, try to help individual minority children to cope (= add to their repertoire), by supporting them so that they get some of the qualifications needed for competing on the labour market (a bit of optimism). Or: you cannot help the individual children anyway while the socity is the way it is, so concentrate on the society.

Radical optimism: try to change the society. At the same time, try to change the school, not only for minority children (mother tongue medium maintenance education) but also for majority children (immersion programmes, anti-racist education). At the same time, try to help individual minority children to cope, by giving them extra support so that they get some of the qualifications needed for competing on the labour market even before the schools and the societies have changed. **Most PROPS belong to this group of radical optimists.**

An **idealistic liberal** on the other hand might come with a completely different diagnosis. Many of the idealistic liberals have the same type of attitude as the PROPS to minority languages and cultures: they are good and enriching for the societies. They also share with the PROPS the belief that it is the school that scould change, not the child. The idealistic liberals strongly oppose any attempts to change the minority child: the child, her language and her culture are perfect, and should be accepted by the school as they are. There is nothing wrong with the child's linguistic or communicative or cultural competence, and those who claim that the child might need something else too are labelled as deficit theorists, regardless of whether they think the child should have something else **instead of what she has** (like the OPS do) or **in addition to what she has** (like the PROPS and the radical pessimists do). Most idealistic liberals do not include any kind of analysis of the power relations in their diagnosis, and do not necessarily see schools as reproducers of inequality. Discrimination for them becomes a question of morals, not power. Thus their recommendations for changes in schools mostly have to do with pleas for more just attitudes: once the majority children and adults are informed that minority children's languages and cultures are just as good, discrimination disappears, schools change and everybody is enriched. It seems to me that this attitude is very common among American progressive researchers, but in practice it serves to support the OPS.

On this scale of who or what should be changed (see table 4), the OPS only seem to want to change the minority child - that is where the blame is placed. The school need not change, the minority child should fit in to the "normal school curriculum" (Edwards 1984, 59), "normal" being MaL-medium. The minority child's culture and language should have no (or almost no) place in schools, because "matters of ethnicity are best left to those directly concerned" (Edwards 1984b, 299), "the symbolic value of language is essentially a private ethnic marker" (ibid. 289), and public institutions, like schools, should not "promote private ethnicity" (ibid., 300), also because "language support is of dubious worth and, indeed, it may do some harm" (ibid., 289). (Obviously it does not do any harm to promote the majority language or the majority children's private ethnicity in schools - maybe they are so strong that they can take this "harm"). But the minority children should not be segregated from the majority either, according to the OPS, because the majority children may get used to minority children and see them as "quite normal classmates" after a while, ie the presence of minorities may be potentially enriching for majority children in the intercultural era.

Table 4 summarizes who wants to change what:

Table 4

Who wants to change what in minority education?

WISH TO CHANGE	SOCIETY	SCHOOL FOR THE minority	SCHOOL FOR THE majority	Minority child herself
APATHETICS	-	-	-	-
OPPONENTS	-	-	add	+
IDEALISTIC LIBERALS	-	+	add	-
RADICAL PESSIMISTS	+	-	-	add
RADICAL OPTIMISTS (PROPS)	+	+	+	add

The whole question of what one wants to change and why, is strictly speaking not an intradisciplinary question. It has to do with our political ideology of what needs to be changed and what can be changed. Some researchers, among them most OPS, think that this type of question does not belong to the domain of research at all. Many researchers, among them most PROPS, think that more narrow questions in bilingual education as well as the debates are impossible to analyse scientifically without openly discussing the political ideology of the researchers and the research traditions. Whether or not one includes questions of the political ideology and political consequences of research in the research framework in turn depends on the philosophical ideology that guides the researcher's thinking. And the methodological questions discussed at the beginning of this paper can, it seems to me, be deduced from the conflicting political and philosophical ideologies that different researchers adhere to.

I see many of the debates and conflicts in bilingual educations research as results of the fact that some researchers, mainly the **OPS**, do not know or do not admit that many of the conflicting views about for instance the effectiveness of MTM education are methodological conflicts, which can be traced back to the researchers following different scientific traditions, different paradigms, which in turn can be traced back to or connected to researchers having different ideologies, both philosophical and political. Many of the researchers who do not admit or do not know that it is a question of methodological, paradigmatic and ideological conflicts, are unable to see the causal relationship and even the correlation between the methods researchers use and the paradigm and the ideology. Instead they try to make it look as if there was just **one** canonized right way to do research in a scientific and sound way, and as if all the conflicts were caused by the fact that **some** researchers - namely they themselves and others inside the same paradigm - are better researchers, and **some** researchers - namely those who represent another paradigm - are bad researchers, not

methodologically sound, or that they maybe are not even real researchers but are only making emotional and biassed political propaganda.

There are many ways of discussing the ideological, paradigmatic (in Kuhn's sense) and methodological issues concerned. Christina Bratt Paulston, building on Rolland Paulston's typologies, has analysed bilingual education paradigms in a superb way (for instance Bratt Paulston 1977, 1981, building on especially Paulston 1976). In table 5 where I have polarized the different views (in addition to trying to squeeze something that should at least be a tripartite division (see Habermas 1971) to a real polarization) I have tried to describe the views which I see closely connected with the PROPS (the left side) and the OPS (the right side of the table).

To summarize so far, I claim that we as researchers have different political and philosophical ideologies. We have in our training as scholars learned how to work inside a certain scientific tradition, a paradigm. Even if we know something about other paradigms, many of us, especially at the beginning or our careers, when trying to establish our identity as researchers, may very naively see our own paradigm as the only scientific way to do research. Discussions of the connections and relationships between our political and philosophical ideology and our paradigm are often not included in our training, at least not so that they would be specifically related to current theories in our own field. We have also in our training learned certain methodological procedures and concepts, a proficiency which gives us a certain security, reliability and trustworthiness in the eyes of others, and maybe also in our own eyes. For many researchers it seems to take incredibly long time to understand and/or admit **that** our methods are connected with our philosophy of life, our ideology, and our paradigms, and especially **in which ways** they are connected.

Table 5

socialist political ideology	liberal/conservative political ideology
i s o f t e n c o m b i n e d w i t h	
materialistic/phenomenological-existentialistic philosophical ideology	idealistic/logical-analytical philosophical ideology
is often connected with	
critical/hermeneutic paradigm of science	positivistic paradigm of science
w h i c h o f t e n l e a d s t o u s e o f	
theoretical-scientific thinking, based on developing scientific concepts, which describe the essence of phenomena and try to explan, understand and critisize	empirical thinking, based on developing empirical everyday concepts, which describe the appearance of phenomena and try to explain apparent, superficial correlations only
a n d w h i c h m o s t l y u s e s	
qualitative methods, often combined with quantitative methods	quantitative methods only

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from Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983

When reading about the last hundred years of discussions in the philosphy of science and more recently the sociology of knowledge, one sees that almost every argument used in our debates has been aired before. They are almost nothing more than classic examples of conflicts between different scientific paradigms, where the OPS seem to represent a hard positivistic paradigm, while PROPS range from critical to hermeneutic. But what makes the debates so sad and depressing is that most OPS do not seem to be able to conceptualize the controversies in terms of different paradigms and ideologies. It seems incredible that it should still be possible - in 1980s - to claim, for instance, that there is a "standard methodology" (Baker & de Kanter), or that researchers can be objective, neutral and value-free, and get away with that. But it shows that it is possible to be very sophisticated at one level in the polarized scheme (for instance methodologically, as is often the case with peope with a thorough positivistic training) and very "elementary" in one's development at the other levels, barely conscious of their existence. In the worst case researchers can be barely conscious of the fact that their views have a name and that there are alternatives - and this seems to be all too common with some of the OPS. This also means that it is impossible to solve some of the problems in the methodological debates in bilingual education, unless methods are examined as logical parts of a larger complex. Methods are not a separate collection of neutral recipes which you can learn in your training, out of context, and then apply to any problem. All methods are integral parts of or at least related to specific paradigms and specific philosophical and political ideologies, and controversies about methods have to be seen in this context.

When some of the recent debates in bilingual education are analyzed in this way (see my analysis of the Loman/Hansegård & Öhman, Ekstrand/ Hanson, Hernández-Chávez et al, Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas and Baker & de Kanter/Cummins & Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa controversies, in Skutnabb-

Kangas 1983,forthcoming b), it becomes clear that most OPS are more monolingual than most PROPS, ie seem to have less possibility of understanding that there are alternative paradigms, and, in fact, that they themselves represent a paradigm (monolingual naivety, thinking that there is one way only to look at the world, one language only). It also becomes clear that there are not only scientific reasons behind defending the assimilationist world view, but also very solid economic reasons.

I do not intend to discuss economics and world view here. Instead I shall point out just one consequence it would have for many of the **OPS** if they accepted that other methodologies are equally valid, or maybe better for studying minority education. As long as quantitative data only are accepted as data, researchers who represent the majority group (without in-depth knowledge of the languages and cultures of the minorities) can do research. But as soon as there are requirements of qualitative data also, majority researchers become incompetent. It is simply impossible for them to get valid and rich qualitative data, because they cannot come close to their subjects, they do not understand them. In its extreme form this means that if criteria for good methodology in minority studies were changed so as to make quantitative data alone invalid, and so as to have objectivity criteria which do not build on intersubjectivity but on exposing one's value judgements to criticism, most of the **OPS** would lose their jobs. They would simply be declared incompetent for doing minority research. But as long as most minorities have almost no say in the criteria applied when studying them, and as long as the majority researchers deliver results which show that what majorities are doing to minorities, even educationally, is good for the minorities (which can be done by ignoring those outcomes of the treatment which show bad results from the minority's point of view), the criteria for good methods in minority research are not likely to change. Unless we minorities organise and get more power. Also we minority re-

searchers. It is important for us to analyse all the reasons why we should do our own reserach, and how we should do it.

I think the image of researchers as cooks is helpful as a last image. The debates are about what ingredients (what data) are acceptable for a cookery book (a scientific undertaking): what methods (recipes) should be followed; whether or not the cook can be interested in food, (be partisan) and whether the cook should be allowed to eat the food herself(come from the minority). And, most importantly, the **PROP** and **OPS** cooks come from different cooking schools, and especially the **OPS** do not admit that the cookery books used in the **PROPS** cooking contain real recipes at all - they do not perceive them as fulfilling the "standard methodological criteria" for what real recipes should look like. The **PROPS** have mostly attended both the cooking school where the **OPS** have had their training and another one, and they therefore say that the **OPS** recipes are good for **some** cooking, but insufficient for cooking for minority children - where other types of recipes are needed. It is like meat-eaters and vegetarians where the meat-eaters usually know next to nothing about human physiology and global ecology and dismiss greens as emotional fanatics, while the vegetarians in the West are often reformed meat-eaters and know more even about meat than the meat-eaters do. And while the **OPS** think that scientific results of meat-eating should be analysed in terms of the amount of animal protein the child gets in one meal, the **PROPS** insist on analysing both the difference between animal and plant protein and the consequences for global ecology and economy and world peace in eating or not eating meat, and propose that this is scientific and valid.

Notes:

1. I would like to thank Göte Hanson, Eduardo Hernández-Chávez, Sunil Loona, Christina and Rolland Paulston, Arturo Tosi, Pertti Toukomaa, Georgios Tsiakalos and Birgitta Ulvhammar for inspiring discussions on the topics of this paper, Jim Cummins and Merrill Swain for both discussions and an opportunity to present some of the philosphy of science underpinnings of them (a topic for a forthcoming paper) at OISE, Toronto, and John Edwards for persisting and constructive opposition. Hartmut Haberland, Markku Peura, Robert Phillipson and Ulf Teleman have commented on an earlier version and showed me how impossibly difficult the topic is, especially for a short paper. I couldn't agree more. But I am not solely responsible for having to write about it - part of the responsibility lies with those hundreds of PROP-parents, teachers and students who call, write or come, saying: now X has written this and this again, and our headmaster/director says that Y. What should we do?

2. For some of the OPS views see Baker & de Kanter 1981, 1982a, 1982b, Bullivant 1984, Drake 1984, Edwards 1984a,b, Ekstrand 1978a,b,c, 1979, 1983, Bratt Paulston 1982, Öhman 1981a,b.

For some of the PROPS views see Cummins 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980a,b, 1981, 1983, 1984, Dutcher 1982, Hanson 1982, 1983, Hernández-Chávez et al 1981, Keskitalo 1984, Bratt Paulston 1976, 1977, 1981, Bratt Paulston & Paulston 1977, Skutnabb-Kangas 1984b, Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976, Smolicz 1979, 1984, Tingjörn 1982, fothcoming, Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977, Tosi 1984, Troike 1979.

3. "An **immersion** programme is a programme where majority children with a high status mother tongue voluntarily choose to be instructed through the medium of a (foreign) minority language, in classes with majority children only, where the language of instruction is foreign to all of them, where

the teacher is bilingual so that the children can communicate all their needs to the teacher and to each other at the beginning in their own language, and where their own mother tongue is in no danger of not developing or of being replaced by the language of instruction: an additive language learning situation" (from Skutnabb-Kangas 1982a). Already from the definition it can be seen that immersion per definition cannot be used with minority children.

4. "A **submersion** programme is a programme where minority children with a low status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of the foreign majority language (with high status), in classes where some children are native speakers of the language of instruction, where the teacher does not understand the mother tongue of the minority children, and where the majority language constitutes a threat to their mother tongue - a subtractive language learning situation" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1982a).

5. Examples: Bratt Paulston claims in her report that Finns in Sweden have "little aspiration for upward social mobility" (p. 45) - all the studies where questions about this have been asked show the opposite: Finnish parents want their children to get as much education as possible. She says in the same report that "Finnish culture is said to be low in verbal output (although the Finns I know talk nonstop), and it is possible that there is less verbal input for language learning in a Finnish family than say a Spanish family". In the next sentence the low verbal input is treated as a fact, as a causal factor in explaining Finnish children's poor school achievement in Sweden. There are no studies comparing the verbal input in Finnish and Spanish or Finnish and Swedish families - the only proof offered is a racist stereotype about Finns (see also Skutnabb-Kangas 1984c).

Edwards claims (1984a, 14) that "we know, however that communicative language retention is **not** a feature of most

settled minorities", or that "the desire for cultural pluralism is in many cases an ideal of the élite, and not in accord with the desires and ideology of the masses of ethnics" (citid in Drake 1984, 146). In the same book where these claims are put forth, the very strong support for cultural pluralism, minority language maintenance and a desire for MT-education is reported on in several articles (Cummins 1984b, Skutnabb-Kangas 1984d).

Ekstrand has in many of his articles (for instance 1978a, 1983) had a wealth of claims about other researchers' work which are incorrect (some of them are presented in Skutnabb-Kangas 1982b). Göte Hanson, Pirjo Pöllänen, Gunnar Tingbjörn etc have pointed out some of them, but since it does not seem to have any effect on Ekstrand, many Scandinavian researchers do not want to waste their time on corrections (personal communication with the ones mentioned above).

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